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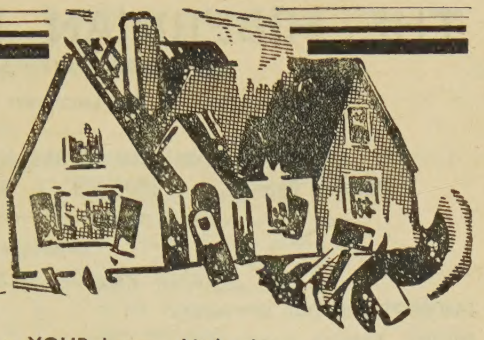

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
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Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 26th day of July, 1943.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1943, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditors' Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£33,840	9	8
To which has to be added :—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	25,330	16	8
	£59,171	6	4

The Directors recommend that the balance available be applied as follows, viz. :

In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Eleven** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	£27,500	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	5,000	0	0
To next Account	26,671	6	4
	£59,171	6	4

The Reserve Fund remains at £750,000.

By Order of the Board,

GEORGE ROCHE,

General Manager.

DUBLIN 12th JULY, 1943.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN IRELAND.

Dr. **BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1943.** Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
To Capital, viz.:—500,000 Shares of £4 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £1 per Share	500,000	0	0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	1,892,359	10	10
,, Reserve Fund	750,000	0	0	,, Investments, Irish and British Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Central Bank of Ireland by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding, as per Contra)	8,547,888	3	0
,, Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ... £520,000 0 0				,, Other Securities	168,561	0	2
Less: Held by the Bank ... 19,172 0 0					£10,608,808	14	0
	500,828	0	0	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	4,541,511	19	3
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	13,487,182	4	4	,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 56 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	146,860	17	5
,, Profit and Loss Account ...	59,171	6	4				
	£15,297,181	10	8		£15,297,181	10	8

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 30th JUNE, 1943.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Dividend to be paid in August, 1943, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... 27,500 0 0				By Balance from last Account ...	25,330	16	8
,, Bank Premises Account 5,000 0 0				,, Net Profit for Half-year, after payment of Expenses of Management including Directors' Fees (£2,000) and providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts, Revenue Taxes, Contingencies, and all other outlay	33,840	9	8
,, Balance to next Acct. 26,671 6 4							
	59,171	6	4				
	£59,171	6	4		£59,171	6	4

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required in the course of our examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

We have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1943, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. We have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

KEAN & COMPANY, Chartered Accountants,
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DUBLIN, 12th JULY, 1943.

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THE TWO PATRICKS*

BY GERARD MURPHY, M.A.
Lecturer in the History of Irish Literature, University College, Dublin

OENGUS, an early-ninth-century Tallaght culdee, in his rimed Martyrology assigns August 24th as feastday to *sen-Pátric, cóemaite ar srotha*—' Old Patrick, our sage's dear fosterer '. The hymn in honour of Patrick attributed to a fifth-century Fíacc bishop of Sletty, Co. Carlow, but which in its present form dates perhaps from the eighth century, also speaks of a second Patrick: " When Patrick departed," it says, " he went to the other Patrick: together they rose to Jesus, Mary's Son." Meyer's translation of paragraph 22 of the ninth-century legendary introduction to the Law of Adamnan reads: " Adamnan did not rest satisfied until securities and bonds were given to him for the emancipation of women. These are the securities: sun and moon, and all the other elements of God; Peter, Paul, Andrew, and the other apostles; Gregory, the two Patricks, the two Ciarans, the two Cronans, the four Fintans . . . " At the year 457 the Annals of Ulster record " the repose of Old Patrick ". And in other sources a number of other less striking or less certain[1] references to *sean-Phádraig* might be found.

Who is this Old Patrick, once so definitely a part of Irish Patrician tradition? A tenth- (or eleventh-) century commentator on Oengus's Martyrology says he rests either at Ros Dela (now Rosdalla, in the parish of Durrow, Co. Westmeath) or at Glastonbury " in the south of England ". Short annals (with very few dates) contained in the twelfth-century, Book of Leinster (ed. Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, p. 512) make him die about the middle of the fifth century, and they place the death of *Patricius Scottorum episcopus* many years later, about the end of the fifth century. The Annals of Ulster, as we have seen, at the year 457 record *quies senis Patricii, ut alii libri dicunt;* five years later, at the year 461, they say *Hic alii quietem Patrici dicunt.* The two entries almost certainly refer to the same person, for (as Professor MacNeill has pointed out, *Ériu*, VII, 71) " wide variations in date, amounting to five, six, and seven years," are common in the early part of the Annals of Ulster. (The entry of Tuathal Maelgarb's death once at 543 and again, prefaced by the words *vel hoc anno*, at 548 is an example.) The Patrick from whom *senex Patricius*

* *The Two Patricks, a lecture on the history of Christianity in fifth-century Ireland.* By Thomas F. O'Rahilly. Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies. 1942. 2s.
" The Two Patricks " [a review of Professor O'Rahilly's lecture] by Rev. John Ryan, S.J., published in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, October 1942, pp. 241–252.

[1] The two genitives *Patrici, Patrici*, in what is probably a seventh-century list of Irish saints commemorated in the Stowe Missal may, for instance, refer to the two Patricks. It is however possible (as my friend Father Barden, O.P., has suggested to me) that one Patrick's name has been repeated here for emphasis, as St. Dominic's name is repeated in the Dominican version of the Litany of the Saints.

is being distinguished must, then, be the Patrick 'archbishop and apostle of the Scotti' whose death is also twice recorded in the Annals of Ulster: 491 "*Dicunt Scotti* (MS *Scoiti*) *hic Patricium archiepiscopum defunctum*"; 492 "*Patricius* [1] *archiepiscopus et apostolus* [1] *Scotorum quievit.*"

Now in 431 (according to the contemporary Chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine) Pope Celestine ordained Palladius and sent him "to the Irish believing in Christ" as their "first bishop". The success of the mission of Palladius would seem to be suggested by a statement made some years later by the same Prosper, in his *Contra Collatorem*, that by ordaining a bishop for Ireland Pope Celestine "made the barbarous island Christian": *et ordinato Scottis episcopo* (*dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam*) *fecit etiam barbaram Christianam.*

Irish tradition concerning Palladius (in so far as he is called by that name) is scanty and unconvincing: almost all that is genuine in it seems to be based on the single notice in Prosper's chronicle. A Patricius, however, whom Prosper does not mention, arrived in Ireland (or 'held Ireland,' as the Annals of Inisfallen have it) in the year after the year which our annals ascribe to Palladius. Concerning Patricius Irish tradition unanimously tells us that he was a successful bishop-evangelist. A statement, perhaps of the seventh century, contained in the early-ninth-century Book of Armagh, says that Palladius "was by another name called Patrick." Professor O'Rahilly in his brilliant paper on *The Two Patricks* recently published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, suggests that in this statement we have the truth. *Palladius Patricius* (he holds), known to the Irish as *Patricius*, a successful missionary bishop who was baptizing the Irish by 432, is identical with the apparently successful missionary bishop sent by Celestine to Ireland in 431 and known to Prosper as *Palladius*. He is the *sean-Phádraig* of liturgy and legend. The first Patrick, in Professor O'Rahilly's opinion, organized the already existing Christians of the south and east and did missionary work in Meath and Connacht. Professor O'Rahilly believes that he was succeeded by *Patricius Secundus* (Patrick of Armagh is so called in the note in the Book of Armagh already referred to: see Stokes, *Trip. Life*, p. 332). This second Patrick continued his predecessor's work in Connacht and broke wholly new ground in Ulster, journeying "to outlying regions beyond which no man dwelt, and where never had anyone come to baptize, or ordain clergy, or confirm the people" (*Confession*, § 51). Professor O'Rahilly accepts the statement of the Annals that the second Patrick died about the year 492. Many years before his death (but not so early as the Annals say) he had founded Armagh, making Cormac its first abbot and bishop. Armagh in the later period of his life was his

[1-1] MS "A" *archipostolus* with interlinear reading in the same hand *vel archiepiscopus et apostolus*; MS "B" *archiepiscopus* (without the *apostolus*). Annals of Tigernach *arciepiscopus et apostolus.*

headquarters, and when he died Bishop Cormac, the "*primus abbas*,"[1] whose death is recorded in the Annals of Ulster at the year 496, was looked upon as his "heir".[2]

Tradition concerning the later Patrick remained lively, and his writings (the *Confession* and *Letter to Coroticus*) gave sure material to biographers. Gradually, according to Professor O'Rahilly, acts of the first Patrick became attached to him, and so we get the single Patrick of seventh-century hagiography, in whom the two Patricks of history are included.

Professor O'Rahilly's interpretation of the evidence differs, then, from that of Bury, who in 1905 in his famous *Life of St. Patrick* reached the conclusion (p. 343) that "the two dates for Patrick's death, the true 461 and the false 493, led, in the eighth century, to the belief in a second Patricius." Since Bury's day few writers have seriously considered the possibility that there had been two Patricks, or that the famous Patrick had really lived till the end of the fifth century, though many linguists have been troubled to explain the ousting of *Coithrighe* (an early borrowing of Latin *Patricius*) by *Pádraig* (a later borrowing), and an occasional chronologist, such as the late Father Paul Walsh, has been forced to a conclusion such as "The interpretation of the evidence is that Dui [†502] was king of Connacht in Saint Patrick's time, which, according to nearly all medieval belief, lasted to near the end of the fifth century."[3]

If Professor O'Rahilly has been able to throw a clearer light on a confused pattern of conflicting data, it is largely because he possesses a knowledge of Irish chronological material wider than that possessed by Bury, and, in addition, a first-hand knowledge of the linguistic evidence, where Bury was relying on Zimmer's inadequate statement of the facts. For Professor O'Rahilly refuses to follow Bury in disregarding the evidence of our oldest annals, because he sees that it is supported by its consistency with the normal chronology of the period and by the clearly unplanned linguistic evidence of a double borrowing of Patrick's name and a double series of Latin loanwords in the Irish language to express newly introduced notions.

The chronological argument is simple. It consists in pointing out that a group of companions of St. Patrick die between the years 447 and 468 (p. 27), and another group at various dates between 488 and 544 (pp. 6-7, 38-40).

The linguistic argument is more difficult for the non-specialist to grasp. The name *Patricius* appears in Irish in an obsolete form *Coithrighe* (descended from an older **Quathriche*) and in the current form *Pádraig*.

[1] He is so called in the LL list of Patrick's coarbs, ed. Best and Lawlor, *R.I.A. Proceedings*, 1919, p. 319, and in the LL annals, ed. Stokes, *Trip. Life*, p. 512. Both sources, however, mention earlier bishops of Armagh.

[2] AU 496 "*Cormacci episcopi Ardmacha heredis Patricii quies.*"

[3] See Father Walsh's paper on the "Christian Kings of Connacht," *Galway Archaeological and Historical Soc.*, 1937, p. 129. I have to thank Dr. Bergin for drawing my attention to this paper.

The form *Coithrighe* is the older (We have spelt it here as it would have been spelt had it lived on till the modern period, as that spelling shows the consonantal quality for a non-specialist better than the rather complicated Old Irish system). It must have been borrowed (like *caille* from *pallium ; cásg* from *pascha ; cruimther*, which in modern spelling would be *cruimhthear*, apparently from **premyter*, a corrupt form of *presbyter ; cuithe* from *puteus ; clúmh* from *pluma ;* Old Irish *fescor* from *vesper*) before the Irish had learnt to pronounce *p*, which was once as strange to Irish ears as *g*-aspirate (let us say) is to English ears today. By the time *Pádraig* was borrowed, on the other hand, the Irish had learnt to pronounce *p*, which appears also in *pobal* (from *populus*), *peacadh* (from the *pecc-* of *peccatum* followed by the Irish ending *-adh*), *Peadar* (from *Petrus*), *corp* (from *corpus*), *etc.* The *p*-words possess certain peculiarities which they share with Welsh developments of Celtic words and Welsh borrowings from Latin, but which do not appear in Irish developments of Celtic words or in the non-*p* series of Irish borrowings from Latin. These peculiarities are that they change original single *p, t,* and *d,* in certain positions, to *b, d,* and *g,*[1] that they drop wholly the Latin endings *-ius, -ia,* and *-ium* (and their Celtic equivalents),[2] and that they often represent Latin long *ā* by *ō* (which in Welsh later became *aw*). Examples are *Laidean* (*Latina*), *spiorad* (*spiritus*), *sagart* (*sacerdus :* old spellings such as *sacard* prove that the final *t* of Modern Irish was originally a *d*), *Pádraig, Peadar, eaglais* (*ecclesia,* in a corrupt form **eclesia*), *pobal, reilig* ' a graveyard ' (*reliquiae*), *maidean* (*matutina,* with omission of the *-tu-*), *féil* (*vigilia,* in a corrupt form *viglia*), *nodlaig* (*natalicia*), *inid* ' shrove-tide ' (*initium*), *saltair* (*psalterium*), *paidear* (*Pater noster*), *cosmait* (*consummatio :* had it lived on, its modern spelling would have been *cosmaid*), *póg* (*osculum pācis*), *treabhlaid* (*tribulatio*), and *tríonnóid* and *altóir,* which may be slightly later[3] (from *trintātem,* a corrupt form of *trinitātem,* and *altāre*).

[1] In the *Coithrighe* type of borrowing (and in native Irish development of primitive Celtic words) single *t* and *c* in similar positions appear as *ch* (in unstressed syllables sometimes as *gh*) and *th* (unstressed sometimes *dh*). With *Coithrighe* (from an original **Quathriche*) we may therefore class *bachall* (*baculus*), *laech* (*laicus*), accusative *croich* (*crucem*), Old Irish *dechon* (*diaconus*) and *baithis* (from the first two syllables of *baptizare* with the *p* omitted). As Welsh and Irish treatment of *b, g,* etc., do not disagree, in many words no difference need be expected between the two series. One might therefore classify the following words with either series : *leabhar* (*liber*), *léigheann* (*legendum*), *sgríbheann* (*sgribendum*), *coinneall* (*candela*), *ceall* (*cella*), *corghas* (*quadragesima*), *aifreann* (*offerendum*), *ifearn* (*infernus*). Sometimes we find doublets : *e.g.,* from Latin *oratio,* Irish *ortha,* in Old Irish ' a prayer,' today ' a charm,' and Old Irish *oróit* ' a prayer,' refashioned about the seventeenth century as *oráid* ' a speech '. But normally one of the slightly different doublets would have ousted the other. When, for instance, Old Norse *theim* (ancestor of our *them*) became popular with Old English speakers, its Old English doublet *thám* did not survive beside it in standard English. So in ancient Ireland when later *altóir* (showing British *ō* for *ā*) became popular beside the uninstanced *altair,* only one of the slightly different doublets survived.

[2] In the *Coithrighe* type of borrowing these endings appear as *-e.*

[3] Preservation of a long vowel in an unstressed syllable is the usual argument for their lateness ; for there was a generation of pre-Old-Irish speakers which shortened

Both series of loan-words suggest fifth-century borrowing by new converts, for it would be unnatural to suppose *large-scale* alteration, because of secondary Welsh influence, of a Christian vocabulary of the *Coithrighe* type already used by *all* the Irish. For though foreign influence commonly causes a new word for a new thing, or notion, or shade of meaning, it does not normally cause a large-scale ousting of old words: the English have not adopted French *épée* for their native sword, though they have introduced *baionette* for the bayonet, which the French popularized in the seventeenth century; the twelfth-century Irish did not adopt Norman *rei* and *meysun* to replace *rí* and *tech*, notions with which they were familiar, though they did adopt *conestable* and *castel* to indicate a new type of building and a new officer introduced by the Normans (*constápla* and *caistél*, Annals of Inisfallen, 1173, 1189); likewise, in the case of personal names, the Irish have not abandoned the old borrowings *Muire* and *Eóin* to indicate saints with whom they have been familiar from early days, though they have adopted Norman *Seán* and *Máire* to indicate persons named in continental[1] fashion after those saints (see *Éigse*, I, p. 224).

All through his lecture on *The Two Patricks* Professor O'Rahilly impresses readers by the clarity of his arguments and the depth and breadth of his learning, but nowhere perhaps is his brilliance more in evidence than in the application of this unplanned, and therefore unimpeachable, linguistic evidence to the problem of the conversion of Ireland. Ireland, he argues, was converted by two groups of missionaries. One group (separated from the other by just the length of time necessary to familiarize Irish ears to the sound *p*) pronounced Latin as Romans or Tuscans would have pronounced it, with no trace of a Welsh accent: they were either Italians, or highly educated Latinists from some other part of the empire (the *rhetorici* and *seniores*, perhaps, of whom Patrick the Briton complains in his *Confession*, §§13, 26). The later group had a distinct Welsh accent: they were Britons whose Latinity had not been furbished up to the Roman standard still attainable in the Gaul of that day, as the example of Prosper and Sidonius makes clear. Patrick, author of the *Confession* and founder of Armagh, was a Briton of poor education—*rusticissimus* as he himself tells us. He misuses his cases in a way that no highly educated Latinist of his period would have done: *qui fuit vico* 'who was of the village of,' *Hiberione* 'to Ireland,' *cum tot milia* 'with so many thousands' occur in the first ten lines of his *Confession*. Such a man would have no more corrected his naturally faulty *ts* and *cs* than

all unstressed long vowels (cf. *treabhlaid* from *tribulātio*, Old Irish *persan* from *persōna*). It is just possible, however (as my friend Professor Lloyd Jones has pointed out to me), that some borrowings preserved their original British stress on the last syllable long enough to survive the period of shortening unchanged.

[1] The old Irish way of naming after a saint was to prefix *Maol* or *Giolla* to the saint's name in the genitive case, as in *Maol Muire* 'Mary's shorn one,' *Giolla Pádraig* 'Patrick's servant.'

a " do be " Irishman would correct his natural broad Irish stopped *d* in " mother " to the English spirant *d*. His Latinity, therefore, qualifies Patrick the Briton to be looked upon as head of the second group. The vaguely remembered *Coithrighe* (*senex Patricius*), pronouncer of a Tuscan *t*, would have been head of the first group. (The identity of name would have been sufficient to cause later confusion with his more famous successor.) If *senex Patricius* was not Palladius, it is indeed a remarkable coincidence that he was of Palladius's time and of a culture which we might expect Palladius to have attained.

Two Patricks in annals, two Patricks in poetry and legend, two groups of contemporaries of Patrick in Irish chronology, two borrowings of the name Patrick, two introducings of foreign words to indicate ecclesiastical notions—why should we deny that there really were two Patricks? And why should we refuse to identify the first Patrick with Palladius, the missionary bishop sent by Rome, whom he would seem to have resembled in culture and coincided with (or almost coincided with) in date? That, in brief, is the argument of one of the most brilliant papers ever written on a point of Irish history.

Professor O'Rahilly himself would be the last to claim that to accept his theory gets rid of all difficulties. It gets rid of many indeed, but raises others. In accepting it one has to accept the coincidence that the first two chief bishops of Ireland had the same name. One has to accept that, by the middle of the seventh century, tradition concerning the first Patrick had become so vague that hagiographers found little opposition when, unconsciously or consciously, they attributed certain of the first Patrick's acts to the second Patrick. One has also to cast aside several statements in the annals and similar sources. Readers who have grasped the collective force of the evidence from different fields adduced by Professor O'Rahilly will hardly be seriously affected by these difficulties. They will think of strange name-coincidences, such as that the professorship and assistantship in Greek in University College, Dublin, are today held by two persons, unrelated and from different parts of Ireland, bearing the same not very common Irish surname. They will remember the untrustworthiness of all hagiography not based on contemporary sources. They will remember too that supporters of the single-Patrick theory have to cast aside even more statements in annals and similar sources than supporters of the double-Patrick theory: they must cast aside the second death-date, for instance; and though they may accept the statement that Iarlaithe was " *tertius episcopus* " of Armagh (AU 481) (*tres abb* ' third abbot ' AIF 1013), they will find it hard to explain why Bishop Cormac, *heres Patricii*, whose death the Annals of Ulster record at 496, is stated in the Book of Leinster list of coarbs (and elsewhere: *supra* p. 299, n. 1) to have been the first abbot.

Certain other difficulties raised by Dr. John Ryan, S.J., in *The Irish*

Ecclesiastical Record (October 1942, pp. 241-252) are perhaps less real. Of Palladius Dr. Ryan (p. 242) says: " What is certain is that he was a man of consequence in Rome in 429. It is never suggested that he bore any name other than Palladius." Dr. Ryan's second sentence ignores the Book of Armagh statement. It is clear, therefore, that he wishes only sources of undisputed authority to be used. In that case Palladius has been named for us twice, and only twice, by Prosper Tiro in two entries in his Chronicle. Prosper has there called him Palladius; but if Palladius " was a man of consequence in Rome in 429," it is more than probable that (like *Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus* and *Aurelius Ambrosius* in the preceding century, or like *Decimus Aurelius Augustinus* and *Prosper Tiro* and *Gaius Sollius Sidonius Apollinaris* in his own) he had at least one other name. Now how a many-named Roman will be spoken of is always uncertain. Early English writers called Cicero " Tully". We call him " Cicero". The Romans varied between *M. Tullius* (Sallust's *Catiline*, xxiv) and *Cicero* (*ib.*, xxv). Marcus Tullius Cicero lived long before Palladius; but turning to another well-known writer, Sidonius, a contemporary of Palladius, we find uncertainty still the rule.[1] We usually speak of Sidonius as " Sidonius Apollinaris". In his own day he was called *Sollius* by some and *Sollius Sidonius* by others. He himself uses now the form *Sollius*, now *Sidonius*, and once at least, in a tortuous heading to a poem, the order is *Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius*. His full name seems to have been *Gaius Sollius Sidonius Apollinaris*. Now the order of names had become irregular in the late Roman period. It is therefore difficult to be sure what names indicated the kindred or family, what names the person. The personal name according to the old order should have come first, but (a generation or so after Palladius) in the case of Cassiodorus, who was a Flavius, and of Boethius, who was an Anicius, the kin-name came first. They were known in full as *Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator* and *Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius*. Dr. Ryan (p. 242) is not opposed to the view that *Palladius* was a family name, for it is he (not Professor O'Rahilly) who in this context has referred to the *stirps Palladiorum*, of Bourges, mentioned by Sidonius in one of his letters (vii, 9, 24). If *Palladius* was a family name, our Palladius almost certainly had a second name, a personal name. Why should it not have been *Patricius*, which Dr. Ryan admits to have been common (it was the name of St. Augustine's father, for instance)? That a *Palladius Patricius* should have been referred to twice as *Palladius* by Prosper and should have been called consistently *Patricius* by the Irish, who were not accustomed to double names, need surprise us no more than that the " Tully " of early English writers should be our " Cicero", or that the *Sollius* of some fifth-

[1] See p. xlvi of Mommsen's preface to Luetjohann's edition of the works of Sidonius in the *Mon. Germ. Hist. Auct. Antiq.* VIII (1887).

century Gallic references should be the *Sidonius* of other contemporary references.[1]

Leaving the question of the names borne by the first Patrick, Dr. Ryan turns to questions of episcopal succession, sees, and primacy. On the hypothesis of two Patricks, he holds, it would be difficult to explain how as successor to the first Patrick an outsider was chosen rather than one of his own episcopal helpers. Now Patrick of Armagh's *Confession* reveals a person whose qualities both as a man and a Christian could explain even greater wonders than that he should have been preferred as head of the Irish mission to older men already in the field. That difficulty is not therefore insuperable. In respect of sees and primacy Dr. Ryan's arguments are based mainly on the thesis that the first Patrick must have had a see: "Palladius, then, like every other ruling Catholic Bishop," he writes, "would have a See. Where was that See? Churches of his alleged episcopal disciples in Leinster and Connacht are mentioned. Had the chief Bishop himself no See?" Now it is hardly true that "every ruling Catholic Bishop" has had a See (in Dr. Ryan's sense). Could not the first Patrick, and the second Patrick after him, have moved about here and there in their missionary field, appointing bishops to fixed sees within their jurisdiction, but themselves never definitely attaching themselves to one place? That is how Boniface,[2] the eighth-century apostle of Germany, acted for more than twenty years as bishop and archbishop: only towards the end of his life did he definitely fix on Mainz as his archiepiscopal see, giving it primacy over all the other sees to which he had appointed bishops, even over a see such as Utrecht, which had been in existence before he began his work. But even if each Patrick had had a fixed see, it would hardly be necessary to conclude with Dr. Ryan that this would have resulted in clear memory of the distinction between the two Patricks, or that such memory would have resulted in unwillingness to accept the primacy of Armagh: many a church (such as the early British church) has forgotten its origins; many a see (like Utrecht) has accepted the primacy of a see from which it did not take its origin (there had been bishops in Wicklow, for instance, and in Carlow, Kildare and Meath, before there was a bishop in the present primatial diocese of Dublin).

"A yet more fundamental difficulty," in Dr. Ryan's opinion, is the evidence of the *Confession*. To illustrate the thesis that he is "exceedingly

[1] Absolute certainty about the number of names a man might have had in the later days of the Roman empire would be unjustifiable; for beside the many-name system, based on ancient Roman usage, there existed a one-name system, modelled doubtless on Greek usage. The growth of the one-name system is discussed under the headings *name*, etc., in encyclopedias and dictionaries such as Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, Saglio's *Dict. des antiq. grecques et romaines*—best perhaps in Cabrol and Leclercq's *Dict. d'arch. chrétienne*.

[2] I have to thank my friend Dr. Binchy for drawing my attention to the Boniface parallel.

in God's debt " because by God's grace many people through him had been born anew in God (§38), Patrick draws attention to the fact that " in Ireland, they who never had knowledge of God, but until now only worshipped idols and unclean things—how has there recently been made of them a people of the Lord, and they are called children of God " (§41). Quoting *Jeremias*, xvi, 19, he compares the Irish " recently coming to belief " to a people " whom the Lord has taken from the ends of the earth, as he had once promised by his prophets: To thee the Gentiles shall come from the ends of the earth . . . " (§38). These and other similar statements, Dr. Ryan holds, " are not consistent with Professor O'Rahilly's theory " ; for, according to that theory (writes Dr. Ryan), " Palladius and his companions would, after all, have borne the heat and burthen of the day, and Patrick's coming, even if there were still heathen regions left for him to convert, would be really at the eleventh hour. His claims in the *Confessio* would thus have to be voiced in a minor key. In fact, if Patrick wrote a *Confessio*, completely ignoring the work of his predecessors and thanking God that, through him, as in times past had been promised through His prophets, ' the Gentiles had come from the ends of the earth,' the document would be flagrantly dishonest."

Now Patrick the Briton, even on Professor O'Rahilly's hypothesis, was more than an eleventh-hour worker. But, apart from this, Dr. Ryan's conclusion need hardly be accepted. The *Confession*, where Patrick's missionary activity is concerned, is written in general terms: no helper is mentioned (though all admit that Patrick had helpers); no convert is named; no mission district is described. The reason is clear. It was written for readers who knew the main facts. " Those in Ireland who never had knowledge of God " (*Hiberione qui numquam notitiam Dei habuerunt*) is in conflict neither with the single-Patrick thesis nor with that of a double Patrick: if there was only one Patrick, readers who knew the facts could have applied it naturally to people living in any part of Ireland; if there were two Patricks, it could be equally naturally applied mainly to inhabitants of Connacht and Ulster.

Dr. Ryan next turns to the etymological argument. He adduces three facts: (1) there was intercourse between Gaul and Britain in the fifth century; (2) many of the loanwords of British type express ideas which one would expect to find expressed in a Christian vocabulary from the early years of conversion; (3) there is no Irish form of the name *Palladius*. All three facts would be admitted by Professor O'Rahilly, and the second and third have been used by him in support of his own thesis. For he has used the second to suggest that at some period there was a mass conversion of Irish pagans under British influence, and that that influence was so strong and so continuous that ultimately loanwords of the British series in many instances ousted their slightly different doublets in the other series (see *supra*, p. 300, n. 1). And the third fact has been used by

him to suggest that Irish stories in which the *name* " Palladius " occurs are normally learned invention based on the Latin entry in Prosper's chronicle.

Dr. Ryan draws more extreme conclusions from the same three facts. From the fact that there was intercourse between Gaul and Britain in the fifth century he argues to the improbability of a mission in which Italians or educated Gauls exercised a predominating influence. From the fact that loanwords of British type express ideas which one would expect to find expressed in a Christian vocabulary from the early years of conversion, he argues that the definitely British series of loanwords preserving *p* must be as old as the other series, in which *p* is replaced by *c* and in which there are no signs of British origin. Here, besides contradicting experts such as Thurneysen and Dr. Pedersen (in their grammars) and Dr. Bergin (in his lectures), Dr. Ryan seems to conclude to the absurdity that the same group of Irishmen at the same time were able to pronounce *p* and were unable to pronounce *p* ; for that (it appears) is what he must postulate when he holds that Irishmen who said *Padrig* when imitating the name *Patric(ius)* as pronounced by a British follower of the saint, would have said *Quathriche* when imitating *Patricius* as pronounced by a continental follower.

Having convinced himself by the various arguments already analysed that the theory of two Patricks is improbable, Dr. Ryan (p. 247 ff.) turns to arguments based on statements in the annals and similar sources. Some of his difficulties here are real and have been referred to already (*supra* p. 298, l. 40 ; p. 299, n. 1 ; p. 302, l. 39). Dr. Ryan tends, however, to overstate the case for a single Patrick. Some of the evidence, for instance, is not in harmony with Professor O'Rahilly's conclusion that *primus abbas*, etc. (LL list of coarbs, etc.) and *heres Patricii*, etc. (AU, etc.), when applied to Bishop Cormac who died in 497, mean that Cormac was the first ruler of Armagh and in a literal sense Patrick's heir. A statement which supports Professor O'Rahilly's conclusion is found in a chronological tract in the *Leabhar Breac* (see Professor O'Rahilly's paper, p. 67 ; Stokes, *Trip. Life*, p. 552). It is in Irish which could hardly have been written later than the tenth century, and Professor O'Rahilly actually believes that " this section of the tract may go back to a ninth-century original". Dr. Ryan speaks of the statement in the tract as a " notice in the *Leabhar Breac*, a fifteenth-century compilation," and goes on to contrast it with a " seventh-century document " containing a contrary statement, omitting to mention that the " seventh-century document " does not exist in document form, but has been concluded to (by Professor O'Rahilly himself) from texts contained in manuscripts not very different in kind from the *Leabhar Breac*. He also suggests that Professor O'Rahilly's conclusion, which is corroborated by the *Leabhar Breac* statement, is based wholly on it, though Professor O'Rahilly's argument makes it clear that he is con-

cluding as much from the *primus abbas* of his two Book of Leinster references, and from the chronological position of the entry about Bishop Cormac in the Annals, as from the *Leabhar Breac* statement.

Professor O'Rahilly, as has already been said, has pointed out that there are two dates for Patrick's death (*c.* 461 and *c.* 492), that noblemen with whom he came in contact belonged probably to the late fifth century, and that a group of contemporaries of St. Patrick die between 447 and 468 (p. 27), and another larger group at various dates between 488 and 544 (pp. 6-7, 38-40). Dr. Ryan devotes several pages of his article (pp. 247-252) to showing firstly how on a one-Patrick theory the two death-dates might be explained away, and next how (by postulating early marriages) the floruits of Niall's grandsons and greatgrandsons might be placed earlier than Professor O'Rahilly has placed them, and finally how the death of Mochta, disciple of Patrick, in 535 (or 537) is not incompatible with the death of his master in 461, if in Patrick's old age he had been one of the *pueri* who are several times mentioned as accompanying him. Dr. Ryan's explanations are certainly not the readiest way of interpreting the evidence, and, for those who have not already been convinced by his arguments against the real existence of two Patricks, they are unimportant.

Dr. Ryan concludes: "Learned, then, and in every way stimulating as is this booklet by Professor O'Rahilly, it leaves the main thesis, that Ireland was converted by two Patricks, unproved." The present writer might accept Dr. Ryan's conclusion if for the word "unproved" were substituted the words "not completely proved". But many things in history which it is reasonable to believe, neither have been, nor ever will be, completely proved.

GERARD MURPHY

"THE OTHER PATRICK"

BY PROFESSOR EMERITUS EOIN MACNEILL, D.LITT.

IN the early Irish writings, dating from the seventh century and later, regarding the beginnings of the Christian Church in Ireland, there is abundant evidence of a tradition that, besides St. Patrick, Patrick of Armagh, who is recognised to be the national apostle, there was in Ireland about the same time another Patricius, who is called Sen-Phátraic, "the Old Patrick." This distinctive name was taken to mean either that he was senior to St. Patrick or, at least in one document of the eighth century, that he outlived St. Patrick. The earliest reference to this tradition is found in the poem *Génair Pátraic*, which was known to Muirchu and is quoted in his Life of St. Patrick. This Life was written in the lifetime of bishop Aed of Sléibte who died in the year 700. The poem having told of the death and obsequies of St. Patrick, goes on to say:

> At the time when Patrick departed, he visited the other Patrick; together they ascended to Jesus son of Mary.

Here we may note that, in the tradition of the poem, (1) the tradition of "the other Patrick" is taken for granted; (2) that the other Patrick had already died; and (3) that the other Patrick had not died in the perfection of sanctity, but required the intervention of the saint to obtain his release from among the spirits who were in prison. Irish hagiography affords other instances of the privilege, attributed to saints, of releasing souls from Purgatory.

I have not found time to bring together a complete collection of the early references to "the other Patrick." In all of them that I have met, there is agreement in one respect. They all assume such a person to have existed, but they have nothing to tell about his acts or activities. There was a Patricius of Ros Dela, and all that we learn about him is that he was bishop and abbot of Ros Dela. Ros Dela itself is a place not now easy to identify, as I gather from the citations in *Onomasticon Goedelicum*[1]. The legends of Glastonbury associate a Saint Patrick with that famous monastery, but we have an Irish legendary association of St. Gregory the Great with Corca Dhuibhne. There is nothing to show or to suggest that the bishop and abbot of Ros Dela belonged to Saint Patrick's time.

In fact, the various efforts to find a fixed position in time and space for the other Patrick bear witness to the hold that his name and the belief in his former existence had taken on public tradition, but equally bear

[1] O. G. professes inability to find a townland of the name "Rossadalla." The name is given as "Rostalla," in the parish of Durrow, barony of Moycashel, in Westmeath, by the Topographical Index of the Census of 1901. Normally in Irish pronunciation the consonant groups *st* and *sd* are pronounced alike.

witness that public tradition knew nothing else about him except the name and the belief or notion that an ecclesiastic of his name, other than St. Patrick of Armagh, " Pádraic Macha," had lived in Ireland in or about St. Patrick's time. Though the origin of this piece of tradition remains unknown, there is nothing strange or unaccountable in its prevalence. For example—and only for example—there was a bishop named Patricius in Bithynia who suffered martyrdom in one of the Roman persecutions under the pagan emperors, and whose name finds place in early martyrologies. This would suffice to set the saying in circulation in Ireland that there was another bishop Patrick besides and before Patrick of Armagh, and the celebrity of the national apostle would make the saying worth repetition and remembrance. The next stage in the life of the tradition would be to assume that, like the one Patrick, the Other Patrick also had lived in Ireland. The third stage would be an effort to fix the Other Patrick in time and in place. About his place, no accepted agreement is known to have been reached. If there had been such agreement, we should expect to find the personal name accompanied by the place-name to distinguish it, as in such instances as Erc Sláine, Muru Othna, Brénainn Birra. As for his time, we find him always closely associated with the time of Patrick of Armagh—he dies before Patrick and they meet in the other life, or he lives in Patrick's time and yet they never come together.

Regarding the Other Patrick, then, we find that the following things were written :

1. He died before St. Patrick.
2. He lived after St. Patrick.
3. He was Patrick of Ros Dela in Westmeath.
4. He was Patrick of Glastonbury in Britain.
5. He was Saint Patrick's tutor (where and when ?).
6. He was bishop of Armagh for ten years.
7. He was buried in Armagh.
8. His soul was not admitted to Heaven when he died, but was visited by the soul of St. Patrick and they went to Heaven together.

For numbers 3, 4, 7 and 8 of these efforts to attach the Other Patrick to persons, places, and things of some fixity in time and place, see Hennessy's long footnote to AD 457 in the Annals of Ulster. Bearing these efforts in mind, let us see the passage in the Book of Armagh which purports to tell something about the Other Patrick : " In the thirteenth year of the Emperor Theodosius,[1] Patricius the bishop is sent by Celestinus the bishop, Pope of Rome, to instruct the Irish, which Celestinus was forty-seventh bishop from the Apostle Peter in the city of Rome. Palladius the bishop is sent first, who was called Patricius by another name, who

[1] This way of dating an event is derived from the Chronicle of Eusebius.

suffered martyrdom among the Irish,[1] as holy men of former times relate. Then the second Patrick is sent by the angel of God, Victor by name, and by Pope Celestinus, and for him all Ireland believed, who baptised almost all of it."

Here we have three sentences forming one context, which tells us of one Patrick, the apostle of all Ireland, and identifies the Other Patrick with Palladius. It makes no mention of a contemporaneous third Patrick. By separating the middle sentence from the context, it is made to convey an important addition of knowledge about Palladius.

In our time, men of learning endeavour to fill the prehistoric voids by hypotheses shaped in accordance with the state of knowledge. The state of knowledge is based mainly on the accumulated and correlated results of archaeological research and discovery, and the criterion of acceptability of any given hypothesis is the degree in which it appears to fit into such knowledge. The method of Irish medieval writers, when they undertook to fill the voids of Irish antiquity, was the same in principle, but the state of knowledge was different. For them the chief basis of knowledge consisted of the Old Testament and such accounts of the ancient world as came to them through Latin writers. A convenient summary of all this material was found in the Chronicle of Eusebius, translated into Latin and continued in Latin down to the middle of the fifth century of the Christian era, just the time when Ireland began to provide written records of her own history. The Latin version and continuation of Eusebius came to Ireland probably as a part of the influx of Latin literature that found refuge in the Irish monastic schools during the sixth century. Apart from its wide scope, taking in the kingdoms of the world with which the learning of ancient Greek and Latin writers was in touch, it must have commended itself to Irish churchmen by the fact that it contained the sole external record of how the Christian Church was established in Ireland, the record of the mission of Palladius, briefly written by the last continuator of Eusebius. Within the years 590 and 610, a copy of this chronicle, possibly in some respects abbreviated, was made in Ireland, most likely in the monastery of Bangor. In the same year in which our annals date the completion of this work, " finis Chronici Eusebii," they record the obit of Sinlán, abbot of Bangor. In the versified commemoration of the abbots of Bangor, preserved in the Antiphonary of Bangor and serving to date that book as having been written about the year 680, Sinlan is described as " famosus mundi magister." Literally interpreted, this phrase must seem, and must have seemed when it was written, to have gone beyond the limits of decorous eulogy. If we understand it to mean " famous teacher of world-history," it can be taken as a statement of fact. To the contents of the Chronicle as it came to him, the Irish redactor, besides continuing it down to his own time, added a

[1] *Scottos* (" the Irish ") is a scribal error for *Pictos* or *Brittones*.

section for the history of Ireland. This addition was easily made without disturbing the original order, for Eusebius had arranged his material in parallel columns, a column for each country, regarded as a distinct kingdom.

The added Irish section contained the earliest known essay to produce a written account of prehistoric Ireland, and the account that it gives goes to corroborate the probability that it was composed in Bangor, Bennchor Ulath (" of the Uluti "), for it begins with the foundation of the kingdom of the Uluti, with Emain for its capital seat and Cimbaeth for its kingdom, and explains this beginning by a note : " Omnia monumenta Scottorum usque Cimbaeth incerta erant." Moreover, its north-eastern origin is shown in the relative prominence given by it to events in northeastern Ireland and among the Irish colonists and their neighbours in the north of Britain. Beginning its Irish history at a point about three centuries before the Christian era, it displayed a blank of some thousands of years, back to the Deluge, during which it had nothing to tell about Ireland. This vacuum was abhorrent to our native historians and, during the seventh century and long after it, we find them busy in efforts to fill it up. The filling consisted mainly of three elements—a narrative part, put together from the saga traditions and supplemented freely from invention ; a genealogical part, in which long lines of invented ancestors connected known pedigrees with Japhet son of Noah ; and a chronological part, taking its inspiration from Eusebius, telling how events in Ireland synchronized with events in world-history, and how lines of kings ruled continuously in Ireland and for how many years each of them reigned. That all this elaborate synthesis was taken seriously, even perhaps by those who had a part in producing it, certainly by the whole body of succeeding Irish writers on prehistoric Ireland down to Dubhaltach Mac Fir Bhisigh and Seathrun Céitinn in the seventeenth century, may seem a thing to marvel at ; but, as I have said, the principle and criterion of acceptability still holds good, only the basis of assumed knowledge is different. The fictitious structure was not only acceptable but desirable because it appeared to fill a vacuum ; also because it was elaborate ; also, to borrow a word from Professor Tomás O'Rahilly, because every one of its countless details was stated " expressly " as if there could be no doubt about it—stated with as much assurance as anything on the subject of prehistoric man could be stated by Mr. Wells.

What has all this to do with the Other Patrick ? That there had been, somewhere in Ireland, another Patrick side by side with the apostolic Patrick was an accepted tradition in the second half of the seventh century. The life, the home, the acts and associations of the Other Patrick were in a vacuum side by side with the traditions and writings of the apostolic Patrick, as in the earliest chronicle of Ireland, Ireland existed in a vacuum side by side with the well furnished columns of history of other countries. The vacuum provoked efforts to fill it or some part of it. The poem

quoted above shows one partial effort: the Other Patrick, when he died, was excluded from Heaven until the saint also died, visited him, and brought him to the eternal home. Reference to other efforts and to modern dealings with them will be found in Hennessy's editorial note under AD 457 in the Annals of Ulster. In some instances, as in the poem, Saint Patrick outlives the Other Patrick. In others it is the other way. In the "Laud Synchronisms,"[1] a compilation modelled on the Chronicle of Eusebius and drawn up originally in the year 742, the bishops of Armagh in succession to Patrick are Sechnall (Secundinus) for 3 years, Senpatraic (Old Patrick) 10 years, Binén (Benignus) 10 years, Iarlaithe 18 years, Cormac 15 years.[2] Still another effort is found in connexion with the annal of AD 457 above-mentioned. The entry in the Annals of Ulster is in the following words: "Quies senis Patricii ut alii libri dicunt." The phrase "ut alii libri dicunt" shows that this entry was, and was recognised to be, a duplication of another entry in the same annals. The other entry in this case is that of AD 461: "Hic alii quietem Patrici dicunt." Both entries come from one original. In the annal of 457 a scribe or reviser who was cognisant of the alternative date (in or about 492) has supplied "senis", thus achieving the twofold effect of finding a place in the annals for the shadow of the Other Patrick and getting rid of the wide discrepancy in dating the obit of the real Patrick. Similar duplications in the dating of other events of the same period are found in the Annals of Ulster. Their origination from scribal errors in the transcription of chronicles drawn up on the Eusebian model is explained and copiously exemplified in my paper on "The Annals of Tigernach."

The thesis of the Two Patricks, in which Patrick of Armagh is reduced to a secondary place, originates in the apparent vacuum of contemporary evidence regarding the Irish Church between the time of its foundation and its great monastic development beginning in the first quarter of the sixth century. In modern times, as of old, the vacuum provokes filling and appears to provide a large opportunity. The chief source of positive evidence, in the first generation of the Irish Church, is St. Patrick's Confession, supplemented by his Epistle against Coroticus; but in reducing Patrick of Armagh to a secondary place, this evidence also is treated as a thing of minor importance. For the paucity of evidence, I can only

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[1] Published by Kuno Meyer in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, vol. 9, p. 471; for the dating see vol. 10, p. 92.

[2] Note the precision in the numbers of years. This is imitated from the Chronicle of Eusebius. It is a feature of the numerous regnal lists of Irish kings, which, for the prehistoric stratum, are fictions of the learned. It is also found in the so-called "Chronicle of the Picts and Scots," which is a regnal list of the kings of Pictland, drawn up on the Eusebian model and purporting to give the name of each king and the number of years in each reign, beginning some centuries before the Christian Era. A study of this "Chronicle" is contained in my paper on "The Language of the Picts," published by the Yorkshire Celtic Society in the University of Leeds.

refer at present to what I have written on " The Beginning of Latin Culture in Ireland " in STUDIES of March and September 1931. The thesis was first produced in 1901 by Zimmer in his " Keltische Kirche " (*Realencyclopaedie für protestanische Theologie und Kirche* Bd. X, p. 204 ff.). Recently it has been reproduced by Professor Tomás O'Rahilly in a highly attractive form, brilliant in statement and embellished with many traits of its author's learning.

I have repeatedly advised students of our early history to be on guard against a method of argument used in support of speculative theories by some writers, among them Zimmer. The argument advances one probability and, when it claims to having established a degree of credibility sufficient to satisfy its author's requirement, it proceeds to set up a second probability *based on the first*, a third based on the second, and so on until the conclusion is posed as historically correct. An unwary reader or hearer may easily follow such an argument from stage to stage under the impression that the successive stages have the same value for the conclusion as if they were so many pieces of cumulative and corroborative evidence, especially if his attention is attracted by the variety of brilliant statements and learned particulars, more or less relevant, that accompany each stage in the process. Yet, in such a case, the usual result must be to prove, not that the proposed conclusion is sound, not even that it is highly probable, but on the contrary that it is highly improbable. For example :

Stage 1. Patricius was another name for Palladius. The statement, translated above, is found in Tirechan's work on the Acta of St. Patrick. A careful study of that work will show that nothing written by Tirechan becomes credible by reason of being written by Tirechan. Much of what he writes is the product of a childish imagination, and not a little of it can be shown to contain fictions of his own invention. Much of it, he tells, was put together from statements received from various other persons who are not named. The statement in question, then, comes to us on the authority of Tirechan or of some person unknown. It has the effect of saying something tangible and definite about the Other Patrick. However, let us give a favourable estimate of its probability, let us grant it the chance of two to one in favour of it. That, in the mathematical form, would be a two-thirds probability.

Stage 2. The full or fuller name of Palladius was Palladius Patricius or Patricius Palladius. This is plainly dependent on Stage 1. It has no certainty. Again let us grant it a chance of two to one.

Stage 3. In the use of this name, Palladius came to be dropped out, and the man of that name became known simply as Patricius. This is proposed as a reasonable if not a reasoned assumption. Once more, let us accord to it a two-to-one chance of being fact.

Stage 4. The missionary activities of Palladius, who was also named

Patricius, were claimed, with a few exceptions, to have been performed by Patricius of Armagh. Again, let a two-thirds probability be granted.

Conclusion: The notion, as old in writing as the seventh century, that Patrick of Armagh was the national apostle of Ireland, is a falsification of history.

The mathematical value of the conclusion, thus estimated, would be $\frac{2}{3}\times\frac{2}{3}\times\frac{2}{3}\times\frac{2}{3}=\frac{16}{81}$. In common parlance, the chances would be four to one against the validity of the conclusion.

This is only one aspect of the Zimmer theses as presented afresh by Professor T. O'Rahilly. To deal critically in detail with the learned accompaniment of the argument would occupy as many pages as the professor's statement of it. One person well qualified to form an opinion about it said to me before I had read it: "It hasn't a leg to stand on." My own view of it is that it has been ably supported by two crutches. One of these is the phrase, detached from its context, quoted above in translation from Tirechan. The other crutch is the double record of the date of St. Patrick's death, in or about the year 461 and in or about the year 492. The historical aspect of this double dating must await another opportunity for its discussion.

Eoin Mac Neill

THE LINGUISTIC ARGUMENT FOR TWO PATRICKS

BY FRANCIS SHAW, S.J.
Professor of Early and Mediaeval Irish, University College, Dublin

PROFESSOR O'RAHILLY in his booklet and Mr. Murphy in his article in this issue of STUDIES both attach much importance to the philological argument for "two Patricks." As Mr. Murphy points out, that argument is difficult for the non-specialist to grasp. He is certainly to be congratulated on his very clear presentation of the linguistic proof to the general reader. In fact the argument in bold outline would seem to command assent, and there is a ring of finality in Mr. Murphy's brief dismissal of the doubts which Father Ryan raised as to the value of this philological argument. I venture to suggest that this is not altogether warranted.

The non-specialist who reads Mr. Murphy's statement of the case may judge the proof to be stronger than in fact it is. He may say: we have here two most clearly defined and dated sets of loan-words, one of which can only be derived from the Latin of an educated Italian, the other only from the speech of a less well-spoken Briton. He may think that each word has a label which clearly marks the date and country of origin of each word or even the name of the man from whom it was taken. But the matter is not so simple nor so straightforward.

That there are two types of loan-words in early Irish is evident. Something will be said later about the precise way in which they differ from one another; but it may be immediately conceded that one series shows Welsh or British influence while the other does not. It must be borne in mind that the words in question are not known in contemporary Irish sources; nor does the character of the words themselves, even of the proper names, provide any definite index for dating. The words, for the most part, are known to us only in the current Irish language of several centuries later. To this there are few exceptions. Strictly speaking a word borrowed from Latin into Irish which belongs to the non-British type might have been borrowed as early as 400 A.D. or as late as 650 A.D. A word of the British type may have come into the language in the sixth century or in the late or, as we shall see, in the early fifth century. Usually the process of borrowing is slow, and granted the nature of the evidence it may be said at the outset that the exact dating of these loan-words within two successive periods of thirty years is, from a philological point of view, daring and not to be admitted without the strongest proofs.

From a reading of Professor O'Rahilly's *Two Patricks* and of Mr. Murphy's comment it will be seen that the chief force of the linguistic argument lies in the assumption or contention that the difference between these two types of loan-words can be explained by postulating two different modes of pronouncing Latin as the origin of the distinction. Professor O'Rahilly (p. 42) writes: " The true distinction between the two types of words is not so much that they came into Irish at different periods, as that the missionaries who introduced them belonged to two groups, who differed from each other in their pronunciation of Latin." Mr. Murphy echoes the same on pp. 301 and 302. It must be stressed that the argument depends for its success on the borrowings being from Latin. Dr. O'Rahilly points out (p. 43) that many of the loan-words of British character are not so much borrowings of Latin words direct from Latin as of British words derived from Latin. Let us confine our attention to the words of British character which are borrowed from Latin as spoken by Britons. Three points are to be noted. First, the new sound *p* is freely used in those words. Secondly, the terminations *–ius*, *–ia*, and *–ium* of Latin words are wholly dropped. That loss is not in accordance with the ordinary phonetic laws of the Irish language at that time. Thirdly, Professor O'Rahilly writes (p. 43): " In Western Britain in the fifth century the pronunciation of Latin had developed on the same lines as that of British. In both languages postvocalic tenues had become mediae, and the same change is found in Irish borrowings . . . ." Mr. Murphy expresses the same thing thus: Irish borrowings of the British type " change original single *p*, *t*, and *d*, in certain positions to *b*, *d*, and *g*." Again, it is not noted that the change is not in accordance with the ordinary Irish phonetic laws of the period. If a British speaker of Latin changed the postvocalic *c* of *sacerdos* to the media *g* and if the word is then borrowed into Irish, the result should be an intervocalic spirant *g* as in *léigheann* (O.I. *légend*)<*legendum*. That is but one example; the same applies to Latin words with intervocalic *p* and *t*. To this fact neither Professor O'Rahilly nor Mr. Murphy attends. Both give a list of examples of words which they aver are neutral, which by accident do not exhibit the characteristics of either type. Such words, they say, are *scríbaim* (scribo), *lebor* (liber), *léigheann* (legendum), *sgríbheann*. But as the intervocalic tenuis *p* in the word *populus* had become the media *b* in British Latin (as Professor O'Rahilly states), it should appear in Irish as a lenited *b* as in three of the words just cited.

To make the point clearer, Professor O'Rahilly writes (p. 43): " Thus Latin *scōpa* was pronounced *scōba*, and was borrowed into Welsh as **scub* (in O. Welsh spelling **scup*), mod. Welsh *ysgub*, and into Irish as **scób*, whence *sguab* (in O. Ir. spelling *scúap*)". Note that the intervocalic *b* of *scōba* here appears in the Irish word as an unlenited *b*. Consider now the Irish word *treblait* (Mod. *treabhlaid*), a word borrowed from the

Latin *tribulātio*, a word of the British type, cited as such by Professor O'Rahilly on page 79 and by Mr. Murphy on page 300. And note here that in a word of the British type borrowed from Latin, as spoken by a Briton, the intervocalic *b* results, in the Irish word, not in an unlenited *b* but in a lenited *b*. Obviously there is something wrong here. The fact that *scōpa* was pronounced *scōba* by a Briton does not explain the unlenited *b* of the Irish *sguab*, as over against the treatment of *b* in the same position in the word *tribulātio* and in the word borrowed from it on the British model; and note, too, that the word *sguab* must have been borrowed from the Latin *scōpa* and not from the Old Welsh *scup*.[1]

Briefly, then, the distinction between the two series of loan-words would appear to be more radical than either Professor O'Rahilly or Mr. Murphy seems to appreciate; and—what is more important—in its essence and in its deeper implication it is a difference which ultimately is certainly not explained by talking about the way educated Italians or less well-spoken Britons pronounced the Latin language.[2] The quality of British Latin has quite obviously left its mark deeply on the second series of words; but the distinction between the two types goes deeper than that. Rather, it seems to me, the difference between the two types is the difference between words borrowed into Irish at some time when foreign influence was not unduly strong, when the Irish language was sufficiently independent and untrammelled to make the loans which it took from Latin conform vigorously to the exigencies of Irish accentuation and the Irish phonetic system, and on the other hand words borrowed into Irish at a time when Welsh or British influence was so strong that it forced words into the Irish language, not on a native model, but on the British model. The difference between the two types of words is the difference between words admitted into the Irish language with diffidence and hesitation, words made to conform as much as possible to Irish standards, and words frankly modern and foreign in shape and sound, admitted into the language at a time when the Irish language was, especially in ecclesiastical matters, powerfully under the influence of Welsh and British Latin. In point of fact the sixth century was just such a time; and the far-reaching effects of Welsh influence on Irish orthography and, in other respects, on the Irish language itself at that time are well known. (Cf. Thurneysen in *ZCP.* XIX, pp. 354-67). But perhaps the British influence of the missionaries of the fifth century may have been sufficiently strong

[1] I need hardly say that I do not deny the fact that the Latin tenues *p*, *t*, and *c* in certain positions were pronounced in British Latin as the mediae *b*, *d*, *g*. The point I wish to make is that the fact that they were so pronounced does not explain the fact that they appear in Irish words borrowed from British Latin as the mediae *b*, *d* and *g* and not, as would be expected, as the voiced spirants *bh*, *dh*, and *gh*.

[2] The three points of divergence should be kept in mind: (1) the substitution of *c* for *p* in one series and the free use of the new sound *p* in the other; (2) the loss of the terminations *–ius*, *–ia*, *–ium*; (3) the special treatment of Latin *p*, *t* and *c* in the positions stated.

to produce that effect. The point need not be discussed here. All that need be said here is that the difference between the two types of loan-words is so far-reaching and so profound that it is in no sense adequately explained by saying that one group of missionaries who laboured in Ireland for thirty years spoke Latin one way, and another group which laboured for the same period spoke Latin another way. Actually, if that were the case, it would be more likely that those who came first would have had the greater influence and would have produced the deeper and more lasting effect; and the thirty years of the second group would scarcely suffice even to break down or mitigate greatly the influence of the first. In any case a period of thirty years, one way or another, is too short to explain two modes of borrowing so radically different from one another.

There is another difficulty against the linguistic argument for two Patricks which may conveniently be noted here. Professor O'Rahilly and Mr. Murphy point out that the older series of loan-words shows no British influence, and they insist that this older series is to be attributed to Palladius and his companions. But Professor O'Rahilly (p. 40) writes: "Irish Christianity owes its origin to Britain. Already before 431 no small part of the population of the south-east and south of Ireland must have been converted by British missionaries." Now the Palladian missionaries and the Patrician missionaries are each provided with their packet of loan-words, and if the conclusion is valid for them, must it not follow that these pre-431 British missionaries also gave *their* loan-words to Irish; and if that is so, the earliest loan-words should be those of the British type. Where are we then?[1]

Further, it is an essential element in the philological argument for two Patricks that the words in question should belong to the fifth century. It need not be denied that many of them may. But a special difficulty arises for those who would accept the argument of Professor O'Rahilly. He says (p. 42): "Now many of these words, irrespective of the type to which they belong, must have been borrowed into Irish in the fifth century." The reason is that these words would be needed by new converts, as Mr. Murphy states (p. 301). Consider now the case of the words of the *p*- or British type, and it will be seen that this reasoning puts a great strain on the mind. These words *must* have been borrowed because they *must* have been needed; that is to say, as we are speaking now of the

[1] The question might be raised as to whether in point of fact Patrick the Briton spoke Latin with a British rather than a Continental pronunciation. Professor O'Rahilly (p. 33) writes: "Patrick's admittedly imperfect command of Latin suggests that he came, not from a fully latinized district, but rather from one in which, while the official language was Latin, British was the common language of the mass of the population." St. Patrick in his *Confession* implies that on account of the neglect of youth he had difficulty with Latin at a later date. He spent six years in captivity in Ireland. After that he sojourned on the Continent and presumably as a cleric or priest pursued ecclesiastical studies. Is it in any sense certain then that he spoke Latin with a British pronunciation?

British type of loan-word, they must have been needed between 461 and 492. But what of the years 431 to 461; these words would have been needed equally then. If in scholarly forbearance you can tolerate their absence from the language for the first thirty years, whence the categoric *must* which demands their presence in the second thirty? It is a dangerous form of reasoning when speaking of such a fluid thing as human speech, particularly at a time of which we know little. One might say that the "Palladian" Christians borrowed the word *Cásc* from the Latin *Pascha* to express Easter, therefore they must have borrowed a word from *Natalicia* to express Christmas; but did they? Further, what Mr. Murphy states (p. 301) of the unlikelihood of a "large-scale alteration of a Christian vocabulary of the *Coithrige* type used by *all* the Irish" is beside the point. Even if one accepts a thirty-year Palladian apostolate, there may never have been such a vocabulary, particularly of *all* the Irish.[1] On page 44 Professor O'Rahilly speaks of words with *p* which, he says, "were introduced into Irish by British missionaries in the *latter part* of the fifth century" (Italics mine). Such words are *popul, peccad, penn, praind, póc, Petar, corp* and *cepp*. Who will say that, with the exception of the proper name *Petar* and the word *penn*, there was not in the Irish language an equivalent native word for each of these borrowings? Whence, then, the assurance that the words were borrowed in the fifth century, not to mention in particular the latter part of that century?

Finally, a word may be said with regard to the sound *p*. Professor O'Rahilly (pp. 42, 80) states that the sound *p* was not yet naturalised in Irish in the early fifth century. With that everyone will agree. Mr. Murphy (p. 306) speaks as if the Irish at that time were physically incapable of making the sound. That is another view. It received more forcible expression some years ago when Dr. Macalister in *Ancient Ireland* (p. 76) wrote: "Possibly the pre-historic people, among whom these [Celtic] languages first began to develop, mutilated their teeth (like the Aboriginal Australians) or their lips (like the Botocudos) in such a way as to render difficult or impossible the pronunciation of a voiceless labial sound." The Indo-European sound *p* was lost in Celtic by a normal phonetic change. In one branch of the Celtic family the sound *p* developed early from another sound. In Irish, quite apart from the influence of other languages, the sound *p* would have developed, and did in fact develop, from the unvoicing of *b* in certain positions. (Cf. Thurneysen: *Handbuch* p. 113). In the fifth century (or whenever the p- loan-words were introduced) the sound was new and was admitted reluctantly. (Cf. Thurneysen: op. cit. p. 520). On p. 306 Mr. Murphy, having charged

[1] Other peoples have become Christian without any large-scale borrowing of Latin words. The old word *qrimiter* (later *cruimther*) which is found in an Ogham inscription is borrowed ultimately from the Latin *presbyter*. It apparently was displaced by *sacard*. It is possible that words of a similar kind of which we have no record were thus displaced at a later period.

Father Ryan with the unpardonable offence of " contradicting the experts," states rather bluntly: " Dr. Ryan seems to conclude to the absurdity that the same group of Irishmen at the same time were able to pronounce *p* and were unable to pronounce *p*." That is only an absurdity if you accept the prior absurdity that the inability in question is a physical one. There is no absurdity in suggesting that, at a transitional period, a new sound might be accepted here and rejected there, or even taken from one speaker (perhaps on account of his authority) and not taken from another, or in the life-time of one man refused one year and received the next. In the last few years a number of German words have become current in English. By some they are pronounced correctly, by others the consonants and vowels are given their English value. But I have noticed that the same speakers pronounce some words correctly and others incorrectly, and even at times they will have a sound correct in one word and wrong in another.

But those who defend the Palladius–Patricius thesis in relation to the loan-words have their own difficulties to solve in regard to the sound *p*. Words like *poolire* (Latin *pugillare*) and *pairche* (Latin *paroecia*) have *p*, but otherwise belong to the non-British type. It may be said that they are transitional, though the theory leaves little time for and pays less attention to transitions.[1] If we accept the Palladius–Patricius theory we must admit that Irish words borrowed from Latin words containing the sound *p* are to be classified as Palladian and Patrician. In the Palladian period (431-461) the sound *p* is not admitted into Irish, in the Patrician period (461–492) it is. There is no reason given. The sound *p*, at least initially, would have been pronounced in the Latin of Patrick in the same way and with the same frequency as by Palladius. The new converts would have needed the same loan-words. The period for each missioner is the same, thirty years. Why then, we may ask, were no words with *p* borrowed from Palladius and his companions? What virtue or charm did Patrick the Briton possess that in his thirty years he succeeded in getting the Irish to mind their *p*s, whereas his predecessor could not wean them from their exclusive affection for their qs?[2]

Such an ardent defender of the Two-Patrick theory as Mr. Murphy shows himself to be can say immediately that it required just thirty years to familiarise Irish ears and lips to the sound *p* (p. 301); this answer

[1] Professor O'Rahilly (p. 80) refers to *pairche* and says that this word " suggests that *p* came in fairly early in the Christian period." This is in a note. But in the text of his booklet (pp. 42, 44) he maintains that the words where *c* replaces *p* " can only have been introduced by the Palladian missionaries, educated Gauls and Italians of the early fifth century." The reason is that, " at the time these words were borrowed, the sound *p* had not yet been naturalised in Irish." On the other hand " so many words beginning with *p* were introduced into Irish by British missionaries in the latter part of the fifth century that the sound soon became acclimatized throughout Ireland."

[2] Of course nearly all the *p*-words do in fact belong to the British type as judged by the other criteria. It is the peculiar inconveniences of the " Two Patricks " position with which I am concerned.

would appear to meet the difficulty. But, then, Professor O'Rahilly himself should be the first to reject this explanation. For in *The Goidels and their Predecessors* (1935) he champions the view that the first Celtic inhabitants of Ireland were not Goidels but " Ivernians," Celts who spoke a Brittonic or p-dialect. In *Goidels* (p. 4) he writes : " My suspicions [as to the presence of these pre-Goidelic Brittonic Celts] were first aroused by a study of that element in the Irish vocabulary which can be shown to be of Brittonic origin. These Brittonic words in Irish, in so far as they have hitherto been identified, are commonly regarded as loan-words from Welsh or Cornish ; and scholars have pointed to the Irish settlements in south-west Britain in the fifth century, and to the work of British Christian missionaries in Ireland, as suggesting ways in which the borrowings might have taken place. But to any one who examines the nature of these loan-words, taken as a whole, it will be obvious that they are not at all the kind of words which returning Irish raiders or colonists, or immigrant British missionaries, might be expected to introduce into Irish. The great majority of these words have a homely character and relate to the simple everyday life of the ordinary Irishman." Amongst the examples of these words then given we find a number containing the sound *p*—e.g. *capall, pata, poll, plaosg,* and later in this essay, *partán* (p. 27) and *popa* and the proper names *Papraige* and *Papa* (p.37).[1] Obviously, if these borrowings of *p*-words took place before the middle of the fifth century, it would be very inconvenient for the Palladian-Patrician explanation. Professor O'Rahilly therefore notes (p. 80) : " The naturalization of *p* in Irish was facilitated by the fact that in the fifth century a dialect of the Brittonic type was still spoken in many parts of Ireland by the socially inferior classes of the population. This Hiberno-Brittonic dialect survived long enough for Irish to borrow from it words beginning with *p–*, such as *partán, Partraighe, (s)preas.* Compare also *capall* . . . ." In the first place no evidence is brought to substantiate the important statement that this Hiberno-Brittonic dialect survived just long enough to prevent the pre-Goidelic Brittonic Ivernians from coming into open conflict with the post-Palladian Brittonic Patricians. But leaving that aside, there is a further difficulty in this position. For five hundred years the Goidels lived in Ireland beside a Brittonic-speaking people on whose lips the sound *p* was most common. The Goidels had such contact with these Ivernic peoples that from them they borrowed many words of " a homely character [which] relate to the simple everyday life of the ordinary Irishman[2]" ; but from their Brittonic neighbours during

[1] In *Eriu XIII* (1942) pt. 2 pp. 140-143, amongst the many brilliant articles contributed by him to this issue, Dr. O'Rahilly discusses some Irish words which he would explain in the light of his theory of pre-Goidelic Celts.

[2] Professor O'Rahilly speaks of these words as representing " an element introduced into Irish by the pre-Goidelic population when these were in process of acquiring the dialect spoken by the dominant Goidels " (*Goidels* p. 5).

all this time the Goidels borrowed no words with the sound *p*. Then in 431 came Palladius and his educated Gauls or Italians speaking the Latin language and using the sound *p* wherever it occurred in that language. That state endured until 461, and even still the Goidels did not borrow words with *p*, except perhaps the word *pairche*. Shortly after 461 the Briton, Patrick, came with his British companions, as has already been said, in just the same circumstances and for the same period, and the charm which had sealed the lips of the Gael where *p* was concerned was suddenly broken, and they helped themselves liberally not only from the dish of Latin *p*-words (which had to some extent the charm of novelty) but also to the century long despised *p*-pottage of their social inferiors. It may have happened that way, but it does not sound probable to me.

Yet Dr. O'Rahilly is so convinced that the double series of loan-words is to be explained by the different pronunciation of Latin that he states in a note (p. 81) that " Palladius would have been known as *Padrig* to his British contemporaries . . . and also *to such of the Irish population as had come under British religious influence.*" (Italics mine). Therefore *Coithrige* and *Patric* are contemporary borrowings into Irish ; and Dr. O'Rahilly must fall equally with Fr. Ryan under Mr. Murphy's dread censure of " contradicting the experts " (Cf. *supra* p. 306). But that is unimportant ; what matters is that here most clearly it is taken for granted that *p* initially as pronounced by a Briton gives *p* also on Irish lips, while exactly the same sound at the same time in the mouth of a Tuscan or educated Gaul becomes Irish *c* ; and that by virtue of the difference in pronunciation of Latin of these two. This assumption appears to me to be false ; and it shows most forcibly the fundamental weakness of this linguistic argument. Granted everything that British pronunciation of Latin implies, Patricius (the supposed other name of Palladius) might at the time give Irish *Cotric*, *Catric* or *Cátric*, but why, we must ask, should it give *Patric* ?

In my opinion the radical difference between the two types of loan-words, where one set is rigidly conservative and native, and the other frankly ' modern ' and foreign, is not explained by appealing to different modes of pronouncing the Latin language. For that theory does not really explain the characteristic differences in three respects of major importance. It does not explain, in words borrowed from British Latin, (1) why the terminations *-ius*, *-ium*, *-ia*, and *-io* should be wholly lost ; (2) it does not explain the unusual and un-Irish treatment of *p*, *t*, and *c* in certain positions ; and (3) it does not account for the acceptance of the sound *p* in one period of thirty years and its rejection by the generation which immediately preceded.

FRANCIS SHAW

WAS PALLADIUS SURNAMED PATRICIUS?

BY LUDWIG BIELER, PH.D.
Formerly Keeper of Manuscripts in the State Library, Vienna.

THE question which has been chosen for the title of the present note may come as a surprise to all those who remember the distinct statement found in the Book of Armagh (LA. fol. 16r, a): *Paladius . . . qui Patricius alio nomine appellabatur*. Yet this statement may be called in question, if examined in the light of the annalistic tradition to which it ultimately goes back.

The paragraph to which the passage in question belongs has been placed, together with other notes, between the words *super petram Coithrigi hi Caissiul* (probably the original Explicit of Tirechan's work) and the *subscriptio* ' *Finit hoc breuiarium* ', etc.; after this *subscriptio* the ' Additamenta ' begin. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that, in some way or other, this paragraph belongs to the material collected by Tirechan.

In dealing with the problems of this paragraph, as far as I am aware, scholars have never mentioned its close relation to a section of the Annals of Inisfallen (AI. fol. 9v, a3-b4).

As regards the nature of that section, the following statement may be quoted from Prof. MacNeill's Preface to the facsimile edition of AI (Royal Irish Academy, 1933) p. 28: " Following the list of kings, on f. 9c (9v, a), is a passage headed *Incipit initium regni Laegare* and ending with *Finit*, which frequently marks in composite documents the end of an excerpt from some external source. The passage deals, in synchronizing fashion, with the missions of Palladius and Patrick. It is followed by another passage, similar in subject and kind, beginning with *Palladius autem* and ending (f. 9d4) with *Ailill macc Magach*, probably also derived from a ' synchronism '. These passages have been treated as though they were continuous parts of the chronicle—being divided, as it were, into years by insertions of the heading Kl–."

But these ' doublets ' in AI concerning the successive missions of Palladius and Patrick differ considerably in important details.

In the first section (*Incipit - Finit*) the arrival of Palladius is placed in the eighth year of Theodosius the Younger and the arrival of Patricius in the ninth year of the same emperor, equated with the first pontifical year of Xystus and the fourth year of king Laogaire. By the close correspondence of AU and the Chronicon Scotorum,[1] it is proved that these statements are derived from a common source—the same source which, as has been

[1] The parallel section of the Annals of Tigernach is missing.

stated by various scholars, underlies the earlier part of the Irish Annals down to ca. 661 A.D.[1] This compilation, made ca. 740 A.D., possibly by a monk of Bangor,[2] would a priori appear to have followed the practice of Roman chroniclers and, particularly, of Prosper in calculating imperial years and pontifical years. The Roman usage of this period was to reckon the years of a Roman emperor as commencing on January 1st next following after his accession to the imperial dignity and the years of a pope as commencing on the first day of his effective pontificate. On this assumption, the dates assigned to the arrival of Palladius and Patricius respectively in the first section of AI are consistent in themselves and with the chronology of Prosper.[3]

The following section in AI, which has an immediate bearing on our problem, must be quoted here in full, together with the parallel passage from LA :—

(AI)

Palladius autem hic uno anno mansit .xii°. anno regni Teothosii minoris. Patricius uero .xiii. uel ut alii dicunt .xiiii°. anno eiusdem uenit ad Scottos.

Patricius ergo Palladius ad Romam nec peruenit sed in Brittania quieuit in Christo.

Kl– enair Patricius ad Hiberniam mittitur Teothosio minore Arcadi filio regnante in quo anno angelus cui nomen est Uictor a loco in quo Patricii crux posita ⟨est⟩ Patricium uocauit.

Item illo tempore Loegare mac Neill Hiberniam regnauit annis .xxxuiii., etc.

(LA)

xiii anno Teothosii imperatoris Caelestino episcopo papa Rome Patricius episcopus ad doctrinam Scottorum mittitur qui Celestinus xl. u (read : xlii.) episcopus a Petro apostolo in urbe Roma.

Paladius episcopus primo mittitur qui Patricius alio nomine appellabatur qui martyrium passus est apud Scottos ut tradunt sancti antiqui.

Deinde Patricius secundus ab anguelo Dei Uictor nomine et a Celestino papa mittitur cui Hibernia tota credidit qui eam pene totam babtizauit.

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[1] Cf. Prof. MacNeill, l.c.p. 27.

[2] Prof. T. F. O'Rahilly, The Two Patricks, p. 12.

[3] According to Prosper, Theodosius became emperor in 423 A.D., after the death of Honorius (on August 15th or 27th of that year). The difficulties, and the merely partial success of Theodosius when claiming the imperial dignity in the West (cf. *Cambridge Mediaeval History* I, p. 407), need not be taken into consideration here. Irish annalists would not know anything of those details of ancient history ; they were bound to take the statement of Prosper as it stood and, after the common practice of Roman chroniclers, to regard A.D. 424 as the first year of Theodosius.—The first year of Pope Xystus, on the other hand, would have been counted from July 31, 432. The implication is that, according to the Annals, Patrick arrived in Ireland during the last five months of the ninth year of Theodosius (August to December 432 A.D.).

These texts have in common two remarkable deviations from the variant given in the common stock of the Annals : Patricius is said to have landed in Ireland in the thirteenth or, 'according to others', in the fourteenth (AI) year of Theodosius and to have been called by the angel Victor. Apart from these agreements, there are also remarkable discrepancies between the two texts. AI is more explicit as to details of chronology, but no mention is made there of Pope Celestine ; LA, on the other hand, gives a different version of the death of Palladius (the same version is found in Colgan's *Vita secunda* and *Vita quarta*). The latter detail is doubtless proper to LA. The former might well have been found in the source of AI, but, in order to avoid repetition (Pope Celestine having been mentioned in connection with Palladius in the first section of AI), may have been dropped by the redactor. It may be noted, in passing, that the counting of Pope Celestine as the ' forty-second[1] bishop from Peter the Apostle ' cannot be derived from Prosper, who—followed herein by the earlier annalist (cf. the preceding section in AI and its parallels)—is in arrear of that numbering by one.

Let us return to the two particular agreements of AI, section 2, with LA. One (Patrick being called by the angel Victor) is of no importance for the *Quellenkritik*. The Angel Victor legend must have been developed at a time prior to that of the *Liber apud Ultanum*, which was one of Tirechan's sources ; traces of that legend in different documents need not testify to a common source.

Things are different, however, as regards the other detail—*viz.* that Patricius is said to have come to Ireland in the thirteenth (instead of the ninth) year of Theodosius. This unique mistake strongly points towards a common source. We are hardly mistaken if we suppose its origin to have been a confusion of imperial years and imperial consulates. The thirteenth consulate of Theodosius falls in the year 430 A.D., his fourteenth in the year 433 A.D. ; the dates of the missions of both Palladius and Patricius, as given in the Annals, occur between the two. The passage in LA, when compared with its parallel in AI, seems to have been considerably curtailed ; it simply states that Patricius was sent to the Irish in the thirteenth year of Theodosius. In AI, the existence of divergent opinions is recorded : *Patricius uero .xiii°. uel ut alii dicunt .xiiii°. anno eiusdem uenit ad Scottos*. Either view might be explained on the assumption that the thirteenth consulate of Theodosius, preceding the missions of both Palladius and Patricius, has been mistaken for the thirteenth year of his recognition as emperor. By disregarding the consuls of 431 and 432 A.D., the ' thirteenth year of Theodosius ' could, then, have been equated with either 432 A.D. (in which case the mission of Palladius would necessarily be placed in the twelfth year of Theodosius) or, more plausibly, with 431 A.D. (implying

[1] xlu must be corrected into xlii ; the same blunder—a very common one—has been made (independently, as it would appear) in certain witnesses of the Patrick legend.

that Patricius was sent out in the fourteenth year of Theodosius). The details of the process here assumed cannot, of course, be reconstructed.

As has been remarked, AI, section 2, has no parallel in the rest of the Irish Annals; regarding its relation to LA, dependence in one way or the other is equally improbable. If a common source of both has to be assumed, all details which are not individual features of either text may reasonably be claimed for that source.

In the light of these considerations, the passage in LA—*Palladius episcopus primo mittitur qui Patricius alio nomine appellabatur qui martyrium passus est apud Scottos ut tradunt sancti antiqui*—may, except for the last statement, be regarded as a parallel to the text in AI: *Patricius ergo Palladius ad Romam nec peruenit sed in Brittania quieuit in Christo.* It has long ago been noted that the verb is missing in the AI-passage. Further, it may be observed that, in the opening of the phrase, the order of the words *Patricius ergo Palladius* would be unusual, if Patricius and Palladius were parts of one composite name. The emendation attempted by Charles O'Conor—*Patricius uero xiii°, uel ut alii dicunt, xiv° anno eiusdem, uenit ad Scotos Patricius, quo Palladius ad Romam ⟨rediit⟩, nec peruenit* etc.—is far from satisfactory. A clue to a less objectionable emendation may perhaps be derived from the structure of the whole section:

> Palladius autem hic uno anno mansit .xii°. anno regni Teothosii minoris.
>
> Patricius uero .xiii. uel ut alii dicunt .xiiii°. anno eiusdem uenit ad Scottos.
>
> Particius ergo Palladius ad Romam nec peruenit, etc.

It can be seen at a glance that *Patricius* in the opening of the last phrase might easily have been intruded from the similar opening of the preceding phrase, thus supplanting the verb which is now missing. From Muirchu, *Vita II* and *Vita III*, the missing verb may be restored as *reuertit*. The whole statement, then, would run as follows: *Patricius uero .xiii. uel ut alii dicunt .xiiii°. anno eiusdem uenit ad Scottos. Reuertit ergo Palladius Romam nec peruenit, sed in Brittania quieuit in Christo.* Assuming that the blunder, *Patricius ergo Palladius*, was present already in the source of AI and LA, the unique statement in LA, *Paladius . . qui Patricius alio nomine appellabutur*, would be thus sufficiently explained without postulating for Palladius a second name of which there is no trace in contemporary documents.

It is not the purpose of the present note to follow the subject into its more remote implications. Our aim has merely been to put forth some arguments in favour of the view that the statement in the Book of Armagh, that Palladius had the surname Patricius, may after all not be a genuine tradition.

L. Bieler

THE ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES

A Problem Reviewed

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY

GREAT works of art, born from some rare union of genius and experience, are often unable for long periods or in special conditions to communicate their full meaning because the experience that produced them has become unfamiliar. When I first saw *Murder in a Cathedral* I could not help feeling how hard it is for an Irishman of a certain age to conceive of a conflict between Church and State in which there is anything at all to be said for the State's side. If the conflict were presented in terms of Church and Nation we might more easily appreciate its violence. It is only very recently that we have begun to realise how far the claims of the State may go and with what subtlety their justice may be expounded. The *Antigone* of Sophocles is the earliest dramatic presentation, by a poet of supreme genius, of a conflict between the power of the terror-armed State and a free personality relying on a higher law. Hardly any work in all the world's literature is so full of urgent interest for the present time. Yet owing to the vagaries of nineteenth-century criticism its purport is seldom clearly understood.

Hegel's famous application to the *Antigone* of his dialectical process, according to which a mutually contradictory thesis and antithesis resolve themselves into a higher synthesis wherein their contradiction is harmonised, has been long ago formally abandoned by all critics. It had the disastrous effect of suggesting that both parties to the conflict were at once right and wrong. Although abandoned, its ghost seems still fitfully to haunt the scene. Thus in a note on the play printed in the *Classical Review* for 1938 (vol. LII, p. 177) we find the following: "Antigone is right in burying Polynices, wrong in disobeying the State: Creon is right in upholding the State's authority, wrong in forbidding the burial of Polynices." This is in substance also the opinion of Wilamowitz in his old age: "Her deed is approved of, but not her doing of it."[1] Such criticism runs the risk not merely of distorting various parts of the play which fall easily into place in a less strained interpretation, but also, through its mystifying balance between right and wrong, of leaving the play as a whole without much meaning. The ordinary undialectical mind revolts against a dramatic conflict in which the greatest art is used merely to make the participants fight themselves to a standstill.

Coincident with the type of criticism above exemplified there has de-

[1] Griechische Tragödien XIV, 112, quoted by L. Bieler. *Antigones Schuld*, Vienna 1937, p. 16.

veloped among scholars in recent years, with more and more insistence, the view that the poet intends Antigone to be wholly in the right and Creon wholly in the wrong. Two considerations, both resting on misapprehensions, have tended to retard the complete triumph of this sound view and even to give an uneasy semblance of life to the ghost of the Hegelian formula. One is the presistent belief that Antigone is the " heroine " of the play in the sense in which her father is the hero of the *Oedipus*. If she is the heroine, then, in obedience to Aristotle's formula, she must be guilty of the tragic *hamartia*, the error of moral judgment which in the *Poetics* brings about the Reversal and causes the tragic *pathos*. The fact that Sophocles called his play *Antigone* seems indeed to mark her as the " heroine." But in fact neither a Sophoclean nor any other tragedy need be named after its hero at all. Many are named after their most unheroical choruses, and in any case Aristotle's rules are notoriously not universally applicable. Another difficulty about this view, which has troubled many critics to the extent of making them see no unity in the play at all, lies in the circumstance that its heroine disappears from the scene long before its end, and that the denouement, while a consequence of her death, is not her catastrophe but Creon's. Such disappearance of a principal character is of course common ; it happens for example in the *Agamemnon* and in the *Ajax*, and need cause us no trouble if we do not expect every tragedy to be an *Oedipus*.

The second consideration which has prevented critics from rightly seizing the relation between Antigone and Creon is perhaps more subtle and recurs with monotonous regularity in German commentaries on the play. It is the belief that somehow the legitimacy of Creon's *government* is involved in Antigone's resistance to his arbitrary and unjust decree. If Antigone is in rebellion against his right to govern, she is clearly in the wrong and we must go back to Hegel. But there is no word about such a rebellion anywhere in the play, and we must surely distinguish, and suppose both poet and audience capable of distinguishing, between the legitimacy of a ruler's power and the rightness of his use of it. Creon is not depicted as a tyrant who has illegitimately seized power and is to be resisted on that score only. He is to be resisted because he has a totally wrong conception of the limits of legitimate state-authority. It is he who commits the tragic error of judgment, and he does so in a thoroughly Sophoclean fashion which makes him true kin to Oedipus. The " wisdom " he claims for himself and insists on under fearful penalties in his subjects is shown in its practical application to be that Greek kind of " folly " which is identical with sin, and which leads directly to the most disastrous material consequences. If we must apply Aristotle's categories to the *Antigone*, then Creon is the " hero " and the tragedy is his, not Antigone's. The fact that to us he is an unsympathetic character does not in any way deprive him of his status.

Mr. Kitto, in his recent admirable, if in some ways one-sided, book, *Greek Tragedy*,[1] has clearly grasped this fact about the play, but his general tendency to minimise the importance of ideas as against purely " dramatic " motives has led him into the opposite error of putting all the weight on Creon's individual character and making the play a struggle between two peculiar and obstinate individuals who have, after all, no very compelling reason for their highly catastrophic actions. Antigone, in this view, is not interested in her religious duty ; she is " giving her whole being for her brother's honour," when in fact she is protesting against what all Greeks regarded as a horrible atrocity. At the end, says Mr. Kitto, " she can cling to nothing but a frigid sophism " borrowed from Herodotus, and this is her " final tragedy." This is to go to the very opposite extreme from those critics who have denied the authenticity of the famous passage in her last speech where she declares, like the wife of Intaphrenes, that she has done for her brother what she would not do for a son or a husband. It is to make this passage, misinterpreted as only a twentieth-century critic could misinterpret it, into the key to her whole conduct. In fact it is merely her half-desperate way of reasoning with herself when she feels forsaken by all the world. She does not, as Mr. Kitto thinks, despair of divine justice ; on the contrary, the last words of her speech are a ringing declaration of her confidence that the gods are with her and will punish her torturer. In the case of Creon also, Mr. Kitto believes that the moral issue between him and Antigone is " a little too elementary to serve as the sole background for so subtle a thinker as Sophocles." The issue is indeed very subtly stated ; but Mr. Kitto, in his desire to get behind it, seems to rob Creon's conduct, as he has Antigone's, of nearly all its moral significance. " Creon " he says " was honouring the gods after his fashion, Antigone after hers. How can you tell beforehand which is the right fashion " ? From this highly un-Sophoclean agnosticism he goes on to argue that Creon's tragedy was merely that he had not learned to be wise in time. This is to make short work of the unwritten laws of which the play shows us the fearful vindication. It provides a truly commonplace moral, more worthy of Ovid than of Sophocles, for the horror of Creon's fall.

There is no more justification for thus watering down the moral issue in the *Antigone* than there is for elevating it into the unearthly inanity of the Hegelian antinomies. No Greek poet—least of all a Greek dramatist—was a " pure " poet or a " pure " dramatist or any of these remote art-specialists so beloved of the most modern aestheticism. Sophocles was a philosopher and a religious thinker by the same right as he was a poet and a dramatist. He would have stared if he were asked in the modern fashion what have metaphysics or ethics to do with his art. In the *Antigone* he is concerned to discuss, through his own splendid medium, a problem which

[1] Methuen, 1939. Reviewed, *Studies*, March 1940.

is just as much alive to day as it was in 441 B.C. Naturally he does not state it in our modern terms, but none the less our formulation of it may be traced back directly to the discussion of it which agitated the Athenians who first saw his play. It is the problem of the limitation of state authority by the Law of Nature. " The Christian tradition which limits the sovereignty of Prince and People by the general body of principles that go by the name of Natural Law," to use a phrase of Mr. Richard O'Sullivan's, is in part an inheritance through Cicero, Aristotle, and Plato from the thought of the fifth century B.C. We find it first fully stated in Plato's *Laws*, but it is there clearly a development from the well-known Sophistic antithesis between Law and Nature. According to the Sophists, and especially according to the greatest among them, Protagoras, the friend of Pericles, Law was but another name for Convention ; all human culture, including language, religion, the family and the State itself, was the product of reason, and the natural order was one of boundless violence in which life was " poor, nasty, brutish and short," if we may apply Hobbes's phrase to the theory of Hobbes's forerunner. There was no such thing as natural justice ; the idea would be a patent self-contradiction. The action of the State was to these thinkers, who are best exemplified by Thrasymachus in Plato's *Republic*, the enlightened use of power naturally unlimited. Doctrines similar to these were to be revived after Aristotle by the Epicureans in particular, from whom they were taken over wholesale by modern theorists from the sixteenth century on.

To these ideas, which came on the Greek world in the lifetime of Sophocles with all the power of a new enlightenment, there was opposed the ancient aristocratic view that virtue in general, including justice, was something transmitted by nature to those of noble breed from their godlike ancestors. In this view the best by reason of their noble nature are those called on to rule the State, and the State therefore rests not on reason or convention, but on " laws established on high . . . . not conceived by the mortal nature of man, nor shall forgetfulness ever lay them to sleep," as we hear in the *Oedipus*. " Mortal nature " in this context means the reason (*gnome*) of the Sophists. To the Sophists on the other hand, and to writers like Euripides and Thucydides who reflect their influence, even high and low birth are among the conventions, and Law is the enemy of Nature conceived as mere brute passion bereft of enlightenment. Sophocles, all through his work, is an adherent of the aristocratic view of life, akin to Pindar—to whom, as it is well known, Nature meant all virtue. He is in the same sense a forerunner of Plato, who solved the Sophistic antinomy by his conception of a new ruling class which should combine natural goodness with severe intellectual training. This is the real meaning of Plato's " noble lie " in the *Republic*, which has of late been very wrongheadedly denounced. Fiction, which has its inevitable part to play in all education, should be directed, Plato thinks, towards the moral end of selecting the best rather

than used to pander to man's worst instincts and basest errors. To men like Sophocles and his friends of Cimon's aristocratic circle the new teaching of Sophists like Protagoras was highly pernicious, as it was to the comic writers who are consistently hostile to Pericles, friend of Sophists. The poet's strongly religious nature also made him sympathise fully with those conservatives who objected to the Sophistic condemnation of oracles as mere trickery. Another point on which he anticipates Plato, as he himself is anticipated by Aeschylus, is in his vehement rejection of the doctrine which would now be called Deism: the belief that, even if there be gods, they take no interest in human affairs.[1]

In order fully to understand the purpose of Sophocles in the *Antigone*, we must clearly grasp the fact that the plot of the play is entirely his own creation. Modern critics regularly darken counsel in this respect by taking it for granted, as a sort of axiom applying to all Greek tragedy, that its plots were well known even in detail beforehand to the audience and that scarcely any liberty of invention was permitted to the poet. The more closely we study the construction of the plays that have come down to us, the clearer it becomes that this is the exact opposite of the truth. With a few exceptions, which are accounted for by the nature of the case, the poets were, in the strictest sense of the word, " makers." They constantly altered and expanded the old stories whose general outlines they took over from the epic poetry of an earlier period, and their alterations and expansions were constantly such as to make their plots entirely and often surprisingly new. This is of course most obvious in the case of Euripides, one of the most fascinating things about whose art is his obsession with novelties of plot. It is not less characteristic of Aeschylus and Sophocles, though their zeal for originality is more hidden by their moral and political conservatism. Excellent examples of this originality are the most famous plays of both authors: the *Oresteia*-trilogy and the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. In the case of the *Antigone*, the newness of its plot is partly obscured for us by the accident that it appears to be anticipated, in outline at least, by the epilogue to the *Seven Against Thebes* of Aeschylus. All scholars are, however, now entirely agreed that that play originally ended with the dirge for the dead, and that its last seventy-three lines, containing the herald's proclamation of the edict against the burial of Polynices and Antigone's avowal of her resolution to defy it, are an addition made at some date later than the production of our *Antigone* and of course designed to relate the two plays so that their plots are continuous. With the disappearance of this epilogue all evidence that there was any earlier story about Antigone's heroic disobedience vanishes. Jebb's assumption of an Attic addition to the story before Sophocles stands entirely in the air, and Schmid's attempt[2] to find

[1] Compare Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, l. 369 f; Sophocles, *Antigone*, l. 1035 f.; Plato, *Laws X*, 889 f.

[2] Schmid, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. II, p. 215, n. 4. The legend in Pausanias explains a place-name near Thebes as derived from the fact that Antigone dragged the body of Polynices along the ground to throw it on the pyre of Eteocles.

traces of an earlier reference to the incident in an obscure legend mentioned by Pausanias fails for the reason that this legend contains no mention whatever of the prohibition to bury the dead hero.

Thus the whole story of the autocratic new ruler who issues the atrocious degree that the body of Antigone's brother, because he has died in arms against the State, shall be left unburied, a prey to the dogs and the birds, is in all probability an entirely new invention, designed for the purpose of this one tragedy. So is the story of the heroic sister who stands alone against the tyrant, and of her fearful doom which brings down on him the devastating anger of the gods. Sophocles did not have to adopt for his moral or dramatic purposes a well-known existing legend. He created it all *de novo* because he wanted a theme to symbolise the conflict between Natural Law and Sovereignty which was familiar to his public. His Antigone, his Creon, his Haemon, and his wavering Council of Theban Elders are quite as much his own invention as is the Guard who so amusingly foreshadows Lancelot Gobbo. So also with his angry Teiresias, mouthpiece of an outraged divinity, and so with the march of incident, cunningly contrived to focus a blaze of intense light on the characters in conflict. The famous puzzle of the " double burial," for example, is not, as Tycho von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff thought, a case of a contradiction deliberately left unresolved for purely technical reasons of stagecraft ; nor is it, as Drachmann and others have suggested,[1] an instance of unevenness in structure due to an alleged partial recasting of the plot. We are shown not " one attempt at burial which succeeds and another which fails," as Tycho von Wilamowitz supposes, but a succession of heroic failures so skilfully timed by the poet as to give the action the exact tragic turn he requires. The shattering severity of Creon's ultimate punishment is the measure of these failures. Even when Antigone has done all she can and has suffered the last penalty, the pollution remains and cries to heaven for vengeance.

It is usual for the critics, in seeking light on the problem of Antigone's guilt, to rely principally on the great Kommos-scene (ll. 806-943) in which she is led out, forsaken as she feels but in no wise weakened, to her strange death. The attitude of the Chorus here is regularly supposed to give us a clue to the poet's own attitude towards the moral issue raised by Antigone's deed. Now in this scene the Chorus is far from showing unequivocal approval. The Theban Elders express indeed a kind of platitudinous sympathy with this young girl condemned to such an unheard-of fate. They tell her that she will be famous and that her praises will be sung hereafter because no other mortal woman has died in precisely the same fashion. When she compares her doom to Niobe's, they point out that Niobe, after all, was a goddess : Antigone's distinction is that she is a woman who suffers as hitherto only divine beings have suffered. When

[1] On these various theories, Schmid, *op.cit* p. 351, note 4. Rouse has a strange theory of his own in Macnaghten's English translation.

she is outraged by the coldness of this reasoning upon her fate and calls Thebes to witness her friendlessness, they reply in a passage which seems to be the critics' main support in their view that Antigone was after all in some sense guilty : " You have gone on to the utmost extreme of daring, and you have fallen, my child, a long fall against the lofty throne of Justice. It must be that you are paying a penalty inherited from your father." (ll. 852-6). This leads Antigone to bewail afresh the sorrows of her house. The Chorus, apparently inexorable, goes on : " There is a certain piety in your reverence for your brother, but the wielder of power cannot permit his power to be set at naught. So it is your own self-willed spirit that has brought you to your death." (ll. 872-5).

The only point in these two utterances which seems to imply anything deeper than mere dutiful conformity with the tyrant's orders is the reference to Justice in the first. Critics who believe in Antigone's guilt seize upon this as pointing to the poets' own opinion. Taken in its context, however, it is surely nothing more than an expression of the Chorus's very natural belief that the clue to the whole series of terrible events is the guilt of Antigone's *family*. She is paying the penalty of her father's sin. This too is the meaning of the reference in the second utterance of the Chorus, translated above, to Antigone's " self-willed spirit "—a characteristic which she shares with her dead brothers and for which her father, even in Aeschylus, was notorious. The attitude of the Chorus, therefore, is nothing better or worse than can be expected from a Council of old men. They are unwilling to condemn the girl outright ; indeed they have already felt, and expressed, some qualms about their new ruler's totalitarian claims ; but the furthest they can go, in discussing what Antigone has done, is to shake their grey heads and murmur something about her headstrong family. Thus they give us no clue at all to the poet's views. These he may surely be expected rather to have expressed in the dramatic action of the play than through the mouth of such a Chorus. The real vindication of Antigone is to be found in the punishment sent by the gods on him who put her to death, and with this punishment the whole end of the play is filled. No sooner has she left the scene than Teiresias, the exegete of doom, comes on.

It has hardly been sufficiently noticed that Teiresias has been anticipated, in the scene which falls between the condemnation of Antigone and her procession to her living grave, by Creon's own son, Haemon. The obvious purport of this scene is to put Creon in the wrong ; and he already shows, by his sudden pardon of Ismene just at its end, that his resolution is weakened. Haemon's protest is surely intended to vindicate the innocence of Antigone and the rightness of her conduct. Its driving-force is not in the least the young prince's love for his promised bride ; that kind of motivation is one of the things modern drama has inherited from Euripides. What makes Haemon urge his father to moderation is the complete conviction of *the people* that Antigone is innocent : " worthy of golden honour "

is the exact phrase in which he conveys their opinion of her. There is nothing in this of Wilamowitz's fine distinction between the deed and its doing; if anything it is the people's approval of the latter that is emphasised. The Council of Elders, uncertain of their ground and inclined to a politic submission to the tyrant, speak only for themselves. Their voice is not the voice of the people, which in this instance is the voice of God. Antigone's own last words in the Kommos (l. 943), that she goes to her death because she has acted in accordance with true piety, are in essence the moral of the play. The people are wiser than their ruler, for all his appeals to wisdom and his obvious indebtedness to the Sophistic enlightenment. Even in the very manner of Haemon's appeal there is a curious twist which reminds us of the later technique of Plato. He uses Sophistic arguments to confound the teaching of the Sophists; his reference to the sovereignty of reason and his suggestion that there are two sides to every story are both of Protagorean origin and are introduced to undermine the Protagorean statecraft of his father.

That Creon does derive his ideas about the State and about religion from the teaching of Protagoras has long been recognised by critics,[1] but the full significance of this fact has hardly yet been grasped. A recent article in the *Classical Quarterly*[2] seems to come very near putting the whole question in its proper setting. In this article Mr. J. Morison has shown that Protagoras, who was in Athens between 460 and 444 and again between 433 and 429, taught a theory of enlightened monarchy, of which there are echoes in the famous Persian debate on rival forms of government in Herodotus.[3] There the theory is put in opposition on the one hand to oligarchy and on the other to *isonomia*, or the system of equal democracy established by Cleisthenes at Athens. When Haemon, in argument with his father,[4] declares that "the State which belongs to one man is no State," he is repudiating not only Creon's view but also the Periclean conception of Athens formulated long afterwards by Thucydides: "in theory a democracy, in fact a State governed by the first man." In his very first speech Creon denounces the ruler who "does not cling to the best counsels," and the antithesis between *euboulia* and *aboulia* is in fact the keynote of the whole play. We learn from Plato's *Protagoras*[5] that this antithesis was a favourite theme of the great Sophist. In the *Antigone* Creon's "wisdom," as we have seen, is shown at the end to be folly, while Antigone's "folly" is proved the highest wisdom.[6]

[1] Cp. Webster, *Introduction to Sophocles*, p. 52. The point was first made by W. Nestle, *Classical Philology*, 1910, p. 136.

[2] J. Morison: *The Place of Protagoras in Athenian Public Life*. *Class. Quart.*, 1941, p. 1–6.

[3] Herodotus, III, 80 f. [4] *Antigone*, l. 737.

[5] Especially 318 E. Echoes of this antithesis from Euripides and Thucydides, as well as from Sophocles, are discussed by Nestle in his introduction to the dialogue, 2nd ed., p. 21.

[6] Cp. lines 95, 179, 1050, 1352, etc.

There is good reason then for taking Creon in this play as in some sense a ruler after the Protagorean model. His indebtedness to the teaching of Protagoras goes deeper than statecraft. He holds views on the gods and on the art of prophecy which come quite definitely from the same source.[1] When he declares that it is impossible for human beings to pollute the gods[2] and that prophets are a moneyloving tribe,[3] he is merely adopting as his own ideas preached by Protagoras in his book *On the Gods*. Mr. Morison interprets the *Antigone* as the tragedy of the folly of Creon, who perverts rational monarchy into tyranny. Its moral, he says, is " that rulers should take lessons from Protagoras." He assumes all through that Sophocles is writing as the friend and admirer both of the Sophist and his pupil Pericles. It is, however, possible to put a very different interpretation on the parallel between them and the unfortunate King. In a more recent article[4] than Mr. Morison's, an American scholar, Miss G. H. Macurdy, gives strong reasons for thinking that the famous second stasimon (l. 863, f.) of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* is a veiled attack on Pericles at the time of his fall from power in 430-29. Pericles was attacked chiefly by a reactionary religious party whose leader was a famous believer in oracles, Diopeithes, and a great part of the attack was directed against his irreligion, his hostility to sacrifices and oracles, and his alleged profanation of sacred ground.[5] Mr. Morison shows that Protagoras, as well as the other philosopher-friend of Pericles, Anaxagoras, was involved in the attack and had to leave Athens. Some part in the attack seems to have been taken by the old rival of Pericles, Thucydides son of Melesias, to whom Miss Macurdy actually finds a punning reference in the *Oedipus* stasimon.

If the *Oedipus* is in a sense a criticism directed against Pericles at the time of his fall, why should not the *Antigone* be a similar criticism at a time when his power was unchallenged? A few years before it was produced, Thucydides son of Melesias had been banished as the result of an ostracism, and his adherents, who were also those of his dead kinsman, Cimon, were bereft of leadership. Such obscure hints as to the career of Sophocles as we are given in our ancient sources[6] indicate that he was a member of Cimon's circle. If that be so, he can hardly ever have been very friendly with Cimon's great rival and supplanter, and the modern view which sees some sort of close relation between him and Pericles is considerably wide of the mark. The anecdotes of Ion of Chios,[7] which are sometimes supposed to support this view, are in fact far from doing so; they depict Pericles, for example, as saying: " Sophocles knows

[1] Webster, *l.c.* [2] l. 1043, f. [3] l. 1055.
[4] *Classical Philology*, 1942, p. 307.
[5] On the important part played in all this by the defenders of oracles, cp. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, last chapter.
[6] Discussed by Webster, *Introduction*, p. 8–10.
[7] e.g. Athenaeus XIII, 603 f.

how to write poetry, but he knows nothing about generalship." If the poet, as Athenaeus tells us, was " like one of the Athenian nobles," there is good ground, in view of such admittedly scanty evidence as we can glean from his extant work, for believing him to have favoured the aristocratic land-owning element which, under Cimon and Thucydides, constituted in some sense the opposition to Pericles. This would align him also with the comic poets, and it is interesting to note that Professor Webster,[1] in summing up his thought, sees a resemblance between it and that of Aristophanes.

Instead, therefore, of following Mr. Morison and holding that the moral of the *Antigone* is that rulers should take lessons from Protagoras, we should rather interpret it as directed against rulers who like Pericles, base their statecraft on the irreligious wisdom of the Sophists. Creon is not ruined, as Mr. Morison thinks, because of his lack of " education " in the Protagorean sense, which turns him into a tyrant. On the contrary, what ruins him is his Protagorean " enlightenment," which bids him set the State, embodied by himself, above the established laws,[2] combined with his equally Protagorean semi-Deism, which denies that the gods can be polluted, and the contempt for oracles which he shares with Pericles and the Sophist. He speaks all through the play as a soldier who identifies political loyalty with military discipline,[3] and in this respect also he is probably enough echoing Pericles, as we know the latter from his speeches in Thucydides. Just as we have seen his son Haemon using some of his own Sophistical arguments to refute him, so too it is probable that the Chorus, in the very famous first Stasimon, are trying in good time to read him a lesson based upon a Protagorean text. The kinship between this great ode—" Wonders are many, but nothing more wonderful than man "—with its brilliant account of man's victory over Nature, and the myth told by Protagoras in the dialogue which Plato named after him, has long been admitted.[4] Up to its last antistrophe this ode follows faithfully in the Sophist's footsteps. Then it takes a special Sophoclean

[1] *Introduction*, pp. 64, 163, 164. The consistent opposition of practically all the comic poets to Pericles is hardly sufficiently emphasised by scholars. Their opposition to Cleon was of a similar order, for Cleon was the successor to Pericles in the leadership of the city democracy.

[2] Compare the totalitarianism of his first speech, ll. 182-190, with his despairing admission at ll. 1113-4. Jebb is wrong in denying the Periclean echo in the first passage, which in effect declares that the State must come before all. In the second passage Creon admits that " it is best to keep the established laws (i.e. of family piety) even to life's end."

[3] This has been denied : cp. remarks of Professor E. Fränkel, Report of Joint Meeting of Hellenic and Roman Societies at Oxford, 1942, p. 12. It may be that the title *strategos* at l. 8 means little, but in a later speech, ll. 666-76, the whole tone is outspokenly military. Note the words *parastates*, " comrade," l. 671, and the use of *somata*, " soldiers," at l. 676. The latter is the first recorded use of a military term later common. Cp. Aeneas Tacticus, I, 1, with Hunter's notes.

[4] On this, cp. Nestle's introduction to the second edition of his *Protagoras ;* Webster, *l.c.* p. 52 ; Schmid, *Gr. Lit.* II. p. 350, note 4. The latter shows the error of those scholars who have taken the ode as aimed, not at Creon, but at Antigone.

twist, which is clearly meant as a warning. " When a man honours the laws of the land and the Justice he has sworn by the gods to uphold, lofty stands his city; no city has he who in his rashness dwells with sin." The cleverness which has been so far praised is double-edged; it can be used either for a good purpose or for an evil. In other words, the Sophistic reason or intellect, for all its accomplishments, is not enough. There is a higher law, which the most enlightened and most powerful ruler tampers with at his peril, and it is in fact identical with those " established laws " so sorrowfully acknowledged by Creon at the end. In the words of one of the best recent German critics: " Only the State which sanctifies itself by its recognition of that which is higher than itself, can keep the order that brings life. The State which pronounces itself sacred in its own right, destroys itself.[1]"

This is the Law of Nature for which Antigone dies a martyr's death[2]. It is contempt for this law that brings Creon to ruin. Using mythical symbols, freely adapted, as we have seen, to his own purposes, Sophocles in the *Antigone* reads a lesson to the brilliant statesman with whom, as a result of the play's success, he was to be called upon to share for a period in the government of Athens. It was equally a lesson to the most enlightened and influential intellects of his time that intellect, even when combined with supreme power, is not enough. After more than five thousand years its value as the first splendid presentation of the conflict between might and right is undiminished. We need have no hesitation in believing that the poet has put his genius unequivocally at the service of the right.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

[1] H. Weinstock: *Sophokles*, 2nd edition, p. 138.

[2] For Antigone as martyr, cp. Bieler, *op. cit.*, p. 16. Wilamowitz is reminded by Creon's fate of the *mortes persecutorum*. Dr. Bieler's general conception of the play is, however, a modification of the Hegelian view discussed above.

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY PATRICK G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART II.—EAGLES AND HAWKS*

The history of eagles in this country makes very sad reading. These majestic birds, which from time immemorial had added to the beauty and charm of our land, have been completely exterminated by the intervention of man, and the countryside is the poorer for their wanton destruction. Seven hundred and fifty years ago Giraldus Cambrensis wrote of Ireland : " Eagles are as numerous as Kites are in other countries ". They have been so thoroughly destroyed that very few people of our time have seen an eagle alive in this country.

THE GOLDEN EAGLE.—Up to the last half of the last century the Golden Eagle bred extensively in the higher mountain ranges of Ulster, Munster and Connaught. But as Ussher and Warren (*Birds of Ireland*, 1900) wrote : " Gamekeepers and shepherds have so successfully employed gun, trap and poison, while eggs and young of the remaining birds have been so systematically taken, that this noble species has been nearly swept off the land. The few that linger are still persecuted, the collector destroying what the keeper has left. Could the proprietors of mountains in Donegal, Mayo, Connemara, Sligo or Kerry be induced to protect the Eagle, as is done in the Scotch Highlands, it might yet be saved from extinction ". It is now too late ; the extinction has been accomplished. The last certain nesting was in 1910, though a pair may have bred a few years later. The last Golden Eagle of Donegal was trapped in 1926, eleven years after its mate had been shot. A single bird, which frequented the Antrim mountains, was often seen between 1926 and 1930. Strange to say it was not apparently done to death, though rare birds have such an irresistible fascination for men with guns in their hands.

Is there any hope of the return of the Golden Eagle to our country? Not very much, I fear, under present circumstances. Individual birds will probably, from time to time, wander over from Scotland. But their chances of survival are slight. Besides, we have no Nature Reserves, specially protected in our wilder mountains, to induce the birds to stay and find mates. Of course a notable increase of the species in Scotland would materially add to our chances. But such a happy prospect is not yet ours, though the Golden Eagle seems to be more than holding its own in the Highlands.

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* For Part I see June issue.

THE WHITE-TAILED EAGLE.—The White-tailed Eagle, also called the Sea-Eagle or Erne, has had as lamentable a history in this country as the Golden Eagle. Indeed the process of destruction of the two species followed similar lines, and the resulting extermination almost coincided in point of time. Up to the middle of the last century or later, the White-tailed Eagle bred on the marine cliffs of Munster, Connaught and Ulster, and previously in the Wicklow Mountains. But the persecution began to tell, until by 1900 when Ussher and Warren wrote : " It is now on the point of extinction, its last resorts being in the most remote parts of Kerry and Mayo." Less than ten years later it was extinct as a resident species. Now it is an occasional visitor, usually meeting with the fate of rare birds. In November 1935, a female in second year plumage was shot on Clare Island, Co. Mayo. Two others reported to be on the island at the same time were apparently spared owing to a timely protest sent from Dublin. In March 1937, I examined in the flesh another juvenile White-tailed Eagle which had been sent to Messrs. Williams for preservation. It was reported to have been captured in a dying condition at Durrow, Co. Leix, but on examination it was found to have been disabled by shot-gun wounds.

If these magnificent visitors were not so ruthlessly persecuted, I believe the Erne would be more likely to re-establish itself in this country than the Golden Eagle. It is a great wanderer, especially in its early years. What an added charm we should find in the Cliffs of Moher, the Saltee Islands, Bray Head and Lambay—to mention only a few of its former haunts—if this Eagle were allowed to make its eyrie among the other sea-birds ! The juvenile visitors in recent years must have been bred in Iceland or on the continent, where the Sea-Eagle is still numerous, for it was exterminated as a breeding species in Great Britain soon after its extinction in Ireland.

THE PEREGRINE FALCON.—It is pleasant to be able to tell that the Peregrine Falcon, more fortunate than the Eagles, is not only holding its own but is somewhat more plentiful than it used to be. Perhaps its chief safeguard has been that it likes, as a rule, to kill its own meat, thereby avoiding the poisoned food which has proved so deadly to the Eagles. It is resident and frequent along the sea-cliffs which bound Ireland, as well as in the higher mountains. In fact, it is found in spring and summer wherever there are suitable nesting places ; while in autumn and winter it wanders far in search of prey, often following sportsmen during the day to pick up wounded game. Occasionally it frequents high buildings and church steeples, even in towns. Some years ago a Peregrine took up residence in the spire of St. John's Cathedral, Limerick. From this base it raided the dove-cotes of the city, at times even dashing at cages outside workmen's cottages and carrying off a skylark, a finch or a canary. It was

known to the citizens as " The Hawk," and people would stop in the streets to watch it flying over the housetops. But a price was set on its head by the cage-bird fanciers, and it was eventually shot. During the winter 1942–43, an " Eagle " was reported to have taken up quarters on a church tower in Strabane. I do not know if the bird was ever properly identified, but I am sure it was not an Eagle, while I strongly suspect it was a Peregrine Falcon.

The Peregrine is now our most majestic bird-of-prey. It is the largest of our falcons, of direct and dashing flight. With a few rapid, winnowing beats, alternating with a long glide on extended wings, it can travel at an almost incredible rate. It has the upper-parts slate-grey ; the crown and sides of head and a well-marked moustacial stripe are almost black ; the under-parts are buffish-white with black-bars.

The Peregrine is the typical falcon by common consent. In the language of falconers it is " noble," because long-winged, in contradistinction to short-winged or " ignoble " hawks. Hence in olden days it was generally trained in Europe for the sport of hawking. The female, being the larger, was the Falcon and was more prized than the male or Tiercel. When hawking was the " gentle " sport, Irish-bred Peregrines were much sought after and, like our wolf-hounds, were often sent overseas as presents to noble personages. The " twelve great Hawks " which Thomas Fitzgerald, commonly known as Silken Thomas, sent to the Emperor Charles V, were in all probability Peregrine Falcons ; while, doubtless, the Hawks from Lambay, which John Chaloner dispatched to his friend Sir Francis Walsingham in 1579 and 1580, were of the same species.

Peregrines and Ravens nest in similar situations and frequently occupy neighbouring cliffs. As neighbours, they do not get on very well together. Indeed it would seem that whenever they cross each other's path, there is an inevitable battle, sometimes lasting for as long as an hour. I recall one such contest which Mr. P. E. Dunn and I witnessed at Powerscourt. We had located, with glasses, the eyrie of the Peregrine high up on the cliff to the right of the waterfall and, without the aid of glasses, had seen the Raven's huge nest of sticks in the face of a rock-stack to the left. As we were admiring the dainty movements of a pair of Grey Wagtails amid the spray at the base of the falls we suddenly heard, above the music of falling waters, the loud " hek, hek, ek-ek-ek " challenge of the Peregrine and the answering hoarse croak of the Raven. It was like the fanfare in a medieval tournament heralding a joust of arms between noble knights. We turned round and quickly forgot the Wagtails. The setting of the scene was worthy of the combatants. There was beauty and spacious grandeur in the surroundings. Behind us rose the waterfall cliff, dark and inscrutable ; in front all was brightness in the afternoon sun. An open space of greensward stretched down to the drive. The left was flanked by a steep, well-wooded ridge, while across the stream the deer park

extended up a gentle incline to a belt of trees which formed the horizon on the right. The lists were in mid-air in front of the waterfall. The contest began over the greensward and quickly swayed to and fro, now above the tree-tops to the left, now away over the deer park to the right. There was much soaring and circling, each striving for position. The Black Knight, the Raven, was no match in speed for its blue and buff opponent, yet it managed to hold its own by its resourcefulness, skilfully side-stepping every stoop. Once, when the Falcon descended with lightning speed, it rolled over on its back in mid-air, presenting its claws to the enemy and croaking angry defiance. When the danger had passed it righted itself and soared in preparation for the next onset. We watched spell-bound. It was an evenly balanced contest of skill and endurance; there was no flying of feathers; there never seemed to be a touch for all the tilting. Finally, after perhaps a quarter of an hour, the battle ended as abruptly as it had begun, each bird flying back to the vicinity of its own nest. We became conscious once more of the sound of falling waters and heard again the shrill whistle of the black Japanese deer, and as if to emphasise that peace was restored, a stock dove flew across the scene of recent battle.

THE MERLIN.—The Merlin, though probably as numerous as the Peregrine, is a less well-known bird-of-prey in this country. The Peregrine is so large, both at rest and on the wing, and so addicted to soaring and circling that it is always conspicuous. The Merlin, on the other hand, is of such small proportions, so given to flying close to the ground and so speedy for its size that, unless the observer is on the alert, it might well pass by without being noticed.

The Merlin is resident in small numbers in many mountainous counties and on some of the great flat peat-bogs. From August through autumn and winter it wanders over the cultivated districts and down to the sea-coasts. I have seen Merlins on the North Bull Bird Sanctuary in every month from August to March inclusive. Barrington (*Migration of Birds*, 1900) says: "There is no evidence to show that the Merlin migrates to or from Ireland . . . Only three specimens have been received from Irish light-stations;" and he adds: "As a regular summer migrant to Iceland, the Merlin might be expected to be occasionally seen on passage at the Irish light-stations." Ussher and Warren (*loc. cit.*) say: "It is not improbable that some birds come in winter from Britain, especially to Leinster." Since the time of these great authorities the only evidence of migration to Ireland has been a Merlin found in Offaly in December 1932, which had been ringed as a young bird in Iceland the previous June. More evidence will possibly be forthcoming when ringing is resumed after the war.

The Merlin is the smallest of our birds-of-prey. The male, not much

larger than the Mistle-Thrush, is slate blue above and warm buff below. The female, larger than the male, has the upper-parts dark brown and the under-parts whitish streaked with brown. The flight is characteristic—buoyant, impetuous and dashing, with quick winnowing beats and occasional intervals of gliding. On the wing it is a trim, compact-looking bird, with pointed wings and short tail.

Active and predatory, it is the terror of all the small birds in the vicinity when it is abroad. On one occasion on the North Bull, when I was bird-watching with a few companions, we saw a Merlin dash into a flock of starlings and, singling out one bird, ran it down over the tide-covered salt marsh and seized it in its talons. But the weight of its catch gradually brought the little falcon down near the water when it immediately released its hold. Off flew the Starling with the Merlin in hot pursuit. Three times the Merlin secured the bird, but in each case failed to carry it clear of the water and had to let go its grip. Finally it gave up the attempt, to the great relief of the Starling, which flew away seemingly none the worse for its narrow escapes.

The Merlin nests on moors and rough mountain pastures, generally on the ground, in a mere scratching or in an apology for a nest in the shape of a few heather stalks or bits of moss. Occasionally it nests in trees. In 1942 a pair bred in Co. Dublin in an old nest of a hooded Crow in a Scot's pine, though there was extensive moorland all round. It was interesting to find this nest only one hundred yards from a Kestrel's and in a plantation in which Long-eared Owls annually and Sparrow Hawks generally breed—and in which, for four seasons, a Carrion Crow had interbred with a Hooded Crow.

THE KESTREL.—The Kestrel is the most often seen, if not the most common, of our birds-of-prey. It is resident and widely distributed, its range extending to some maritime islands. There is some slight evidence, from the light-stations, of a spring and autumn migration; while a Kestrel, ringed as nesting in the north of England, was recovered in Wexford the following April.

The Kestrel is a handsome bird. The male has a bluish-grey head and black-spotted chestnut back, buff under-parts with dark streaks and markings. The tail is slate with a broad, black subterminal band. The colours of the female are less striking, being rufous-brown with black barrings above and paler below with dark streaks, and with barred tail. The sexes are not markedly different in size.

Hovering is the outstanding feature in the flight of the Kestrel and is a sure sign of identity. Other falcons may hover at times for short spells, but the Kestrel so habitually hovers that it is deservedly named the Windhover. With quivering wings and wide-spread, depressed tail, it hangs, head to wind, poised in the air from twenty to thirty feet above the

ground. If no quarry is sighted, it slides forward, to halt once more over a fresh patch of ground. When it sees a small mammal or beetle, it drops swiftly to earth to seize it. After a catch, it resumes its watch from the air, or it may fly to the next field at an easy, steady pace, never hurriedly and generally not very close to the ground.

The Kestrel makes no nest, but in wooded districts uses old nests of other birds, such as the Hooded Crow or the Magpie. In cliffs and quarries, it lays its eggs in a scrape in a clay-covered ledge of rock. Occasionally it breeds in a ruin, in a hollow in a tree-trunk or in a hole or ledge in a building.

The staple food of the Kestrel consists of mammals, mainly field and house mice, rats and exceptionally bats and young rabbits. As a rule it is harmless to game and poultry, but individual Kestrels, like individual human beings, will sometimes develop pilfering habits and will take young game and domestic chickens.

Dr. Collinge has estimated that 99% of its diet in England is animal food, consisting of 65·5% mice and voles, 8·5% small birds, 6% nestlings, 16·5% injurious insects, 2·5% earthworms, and 1% frogs; and he comments: "It is one of the most useful birds we have in relation to agriculture. All who have investigated its feeding habits have been compelled to admit that the good it does far outweighs the harm it occasions during a very brief period of the year . . . It is a bird certainly deserving of very strict protection; and if certain individuals will persist in destroying a species that is so beneficial, they should be compelled to pay dearly for their foolishness."

The trouble is that people so often confuse the Kestrel with the Sparrow Hawk and take summary vengeance on the one for the misdeeds of the other, while the real culprit, being the more elusive, gets off scot free. There is, of course, a certain hawk-like resemblance between the two birds; and they are of about the same size and have almost equally long tails. But apart from difference of coloration and streaked, not barred under-parts, the Kestrel may be identified by its hovering and leisurely flight. I have never seen a Sparrow Hawk hover, though it is said to do so exceptionally. Again the shape of the wings will often indicate which of the two is in the air: the Kestrel's wings are pointed, the Sparrow Hawk's are broad and rounded.

THE SPARROW HAWK.—The Sparrow Hawk is perhaps more numerous than the Kestrel, though it is not so obvious. It is resident and common, especially in wooded districts, and it breeds in every county.

The long tail, broad rounded wings, barred under-parts and characteristic mode of hunting distinguish the Sparrow Hawk from our other birds-of-prey. The male has dark slate-grey upper-parts, with barred, more or less rufous, under-parts. The female, conspicuously larger than

the male, is browner above and whiter and less rufous below. There is much individual variation in the plumage of this species. Immature birds have the upper-parts brown, with lighter rufous edging to the feathers, and the barring of the under-parts is broader and more irregular.

When hunting, the Sparrow Hawk flies fast and low near the borders of a wood, by hedgerows, and along streams and watercourses. The flight is gliding, with three or four wing-beats at long intervals. When working a hedge, it frequently slips over from one side to the other, ready to pick off any unsuspecting small bird. In woods it threads its way with astonishing dexterity through the trees. Though it prefers to secure its prey by surprise, it will at times pursue and fairly out-fly it in the open and, laying aside its habitual caution, will even follow it into frequented thoroughfares and the interior of houses. I have seen such chases, ending with tragic suddenness by the roadside and on one occasion at the hall-door of a house.

The Sparrow Hawk nests in trees, showing a preference for conifers, especially spruce, in mixed woods. The nest is nearly always made by the birds themselves, though sometimes on the foundation of an old nest of a Hooded Crow, Magpie or Wood Pigeon.

It is a remarkable fact that the Sparrow Hawk has been able to hold its own, though it has been as ruthlessly persecuted as the Eagles, Harriers and Buzzards, which have been exterminated as nesting species in this country. This is, no doubt, due to its elusive habits and its fast flight close to the ground. It will either escape notice altogether or, if sighted by a " sportsman ", it will have slipped across a hedge and be thus under cover or out of range before he has taken aim. We cannot withhold our admiration for its skill and tenacity in outwitting its foes, and we can only regret that others of our nobler birds-of-prey were lacking in these fighting qualities and so succumbed to persecution.

BUZZARDS AND HARRIERS.—I have mentioned two classes of Hawks, Buzzards and Harriers, which, like Eagles, have been so persecuted that they no longer breed in this country. Buzzards are fine-looking birds, closely allied to Eagles, but smaller. Their most characteristic feature is their majestic soaring flight as they sweep round in wide spirals with scarcely perceptible wing movement. In contrast to their soaring, their direct flight, when flushed from the ground, is slow and heavy. Hence in the old days of falconry they were regarded with scorn, and in common parlance a Buzzard came to mean a stupid fellow.

THE COMMON BUZZARD.—This species bred in the nineteenth century in northern Ulster, where it is stated to have been exterminated between 1880 and 1890. In the present century it has made a few attempts to re-establish itself. The last record was for Fair Head in Antrim, where a

pair nested in 1933. They returned in 1934, but were so persecuted, not by man in this instance but by Ravens and Peregrines, that they left the district and have not appeared since. On the continent the Common Buzzard really deserves its name : it is the most numerous as well as being the most conspicuous bird-of-prey. In Great Britain, under the fostering care of Bird Protection, it is increasing. So there is reasonable ground for hope that this fine bird may yet succeed in becoming a resident once more in Ireland. (The Rough-legged Buzzard is only an irregular winter visitor, while the Honey-Buzzard, which is of a different *genus* or class, is a rare passage-migrant).

The Harriers derive their name from their habit of harrying and killing poultry and wild birds. They are large, long-winged, long-tailed, and long-legged hawks frequenting the open country. Their flight is characteristic, often only a few feet from the ground, with several leisurely wing-beats followed by a glide on half raised wings. At times, especially in the breeding season, they will rise in wide circles to considerable heights. When hunting, they quarter the ground with much regularity and seize their prey by a sudden pounce.

THE MARSH HARRIER.—The Marsh Harrier is said to have been widely distributed before 1840; while Watters, writing in 1853, was able to speak of it as still " the most abundant of our larger birds-of-prey ". But gradually it diminished in numbers until 1900, when Ussher and Warren found it reduced to a few pairs in the midlands and the west, " its low, easy flight making it an irresistible mark to the wanton shooter, as well as to the gamekeeper." For more than twenty years it has not been known to have bred in this country, and now only single birds occur occasionally. One of the more recent records has been a Marsh Harrier seen by me in Leix, on six occasions in October and November 1934 and once in February 1935. This may have been the bird which later in 1935 was shot in the same locality. (Museum List, 1937) The last occurrence was an immature bird, which met the usual fate of rare birds, having been shot on the South Sloblands, Wexford, in September 1941.

THE HEN-HARRIER.—The Hen-Harrier, too, has been so reduced in numbers that I am inclined to think it no longer nests in Ireland, though it is said to be *probably* still resident in a few of its original haunts of the wilder mountain-districts. At any rate it is very seldom recorded now. In January 1933, I examined in the flesh a specimen which had been shot near Cratloe, Co. Clare, and had been sent to Messrs. Williams for preservation. This bird had been seen for three months previous to its death in the vicinity of Cratloe. On February 4, 1943, while bird-watching on the North Bull with three companions, we had a very good view, in good light, of a male Hen-Harrier in adult plumage. It was a fine and

lovely bird, ashy-grey above, with upper-tail-coverts pure white. It was so pale coloured that, in the sunlight, it looked almost white, as it glided in typical Harrier flight among the hosts of frightened Wigeon, Curlew and Seapie. We had hoped that it would remain in the security of the Bird Sanctuary until the end of the shooting season, but being a great wanderer it must have passed on, as it has not been since observed. It was probably a visitor from Great Britain, where it is still resident, or from the continent, where it is widely distributed.

MONTAGU'S HARRIER.—Montagu's Harrier is a rare and extremely local summer visitor. It has never definitely been proved to have bred in this country but there are grounds for believing that it has done so on a few occasions. Mr. G. R. Humphreys saw single birds on migration on the North Bull in May 1920 and in August 1922. From April to September 1938, Mr. P. E. Dunn, Mr. Commissioner O'Shiel and I had a Montagu's Harrier under observation in Co. Wicklow. We searched far and wide in the hopes of seeing a mate and, perhaps, of finding a nest, but without success. " Hope springs eternal in the human breast."

In conclusion, I would mention the following diurnal birds-of-prey which have been rare or casual visitors to this country: Spotted Eagle, American Goshawk, Kite, Iceland Falcon, Greenland Falcon, Hobby, Red-footed Falcon, Lesser Kestrel and Osprey.

P. G. KENNEDY

CENTENARY OF WILLIAM MAGINN 1794—1842

BY B. G. MACCARTHY, M.A., PH.D.
University College, Cork

THE time is summer of the year 1840. Our scene is the Fleet Prison. Thackeray bustles forward to fill the stage with a creation of his called " Captain Shandon ". But there is malice in Thackeray's sidelong glance, so let us take from him only a hint as to the setting and show *our* Captain Shandon in a truer light. The curtain rises to disclose a small and squalid room, stifling in the heat of August, its one poor window admitting little air and much din. From the burning courtyard below, from the corridors without, there flows in an unending clamour of voices raised in anger, in complaint, in drunken laughter—a community one in misery, humming like a full hive. But among these drones there is at least one worker. We see him here before us—*our* Captain Shandon—sitting on his bed, a shabby dressing gown drawn round him, a torn slipper dangling from his toe. He is small of build. His hair is white. His face is drawn in lines of dissipation and disease. When he raises his head we look into eyes that are friendly, candid and ironic. But he does not raise his head more than once. He writes—writes—writes for dear life. The pages fall from his knees and lie wet on the dirty floor. He writes as if a thousand devils were at his heels—and so they are : devils of debt, of drink, duns, brokers' men, family burdens, failing health, clouded fame, lost opportunities. The time is short. The printers are waiting. The paper is going to press. The time is short—only two more years and then he can rest at last under the charlock and nettle of that little church-yard of Walton-on-Thames. But London is not his town nor is the Thames his river, for this is William Maginn of Cork.

William Maginn, born in Cork in 1794, was the eldest son of an eminent classical scholar who kept a school at number 8, Marlboro Street. From his earliest years Maginn showed an extraordinary aptitude for learning. There are conflicting statements as to the age at which he went to Trinity College. Some say that he was then only ten years. Others assert that he was sixteen. When he graduated he returned to Cork to help his father, and when, a few years later (in 1813), his father died, the school passed into Maginn's hands. If scholarship were the only requisite for teaching, Maginn would have become a teacher second to none. His knowledge was vast and many-sided. Up to his thirtieth year few men had read as widely. He was steeped in the Classics. His knowledge of English literature was most extensive. From his childhood he had studied Irish, and he

delighted in making philological comparisons between Irish, Scots Gaelic and Welsh. In addition his biographers state that at the age of twenty-five he could speak and write German, Italian, French, Portuguese, and modern Greek. Doubt crosses the mind, however, when we hear that he subsequently mastered Swedish, Russian and Basque, and that he was acquainted with Turkish and Magyar. Be this as it may, there is in Maginn's life and writings ample evidence to prove that he was a remarkable linguist and a man of almost encyclopaedic erudition.

It is said that Maginn conducted his school with great success, but, in view of his temperament and his absorption in other interests, this seems doubtful. When he was twenty-five, he took the LL.D. at Trinity—chiefly, it is supposed, to promote a feeling of confidence in the parents of his pupils. His prematurely grey hair may have offered further presumptive evidence of his gravity, but these testimonies were contradicted by his rollicking bohemianism. He was young, full of life, of promise, of learning, of curiosity. He had the boisterous, satiric, self-dramatising temper of the South. He was indeed a typical Corkonian. His was the boundless loquacity, the fleering wit, the passion for belittling everything, for pricking bubbles, for tearing everything to pieces, the glee in fooling his victim to the very top of his bent and then overwhelming him with lung-splitting laughter. He had genius without the desire or the power of concentration—a genius therefore which was to dissipate itself. He was quicksilver, conforming to no pattern. He was the unfettered wind blowing where it listeth. He was a meteor shooting madly through the sky, throwing off showers of brilliant fragments in erratic flight. He was, in fact, Maginn, cooped up within the limits of a staid profession in a staid town. He sought outlets and he found them in ways peculiar to himself.

Maginn's great need was to express himself in words—to open the sluice-gates to that flood of eloquence which was dammed up within him. Debate was not his proper medium because his speech was thick and stuttering. Nevertheless, he identified himself with the Literary and Philosophical Society which used to meet in Faulkner's Lane. Soon, however, he split away and rallied around him a rival band which held its sessions—or rather its carousals—in Pembroke Street. Of the feud between these societies, the abuse hurled to and fro, of the waste of printers' ink, of the physical violence there is not time to speak, although the records remain. Writing was Maginn's true sphere, and soon he began to write. His first efforts show in microcosm that unhappy prostitution of his powers of which his later life was to give abundant proof. There was in Cork at that time a hunchback named John Boyle who was responsible for a libellous paper called *The Freeholder*. The tone of this journalistic excrescence may be judged by the fact that it was secretly printed and distributed, copies being pushed under doors and dropped down areas in the small hours of the morning. In this paper Maginn made his literary

début. But soon he aimed higher and in 1819, when he was twenty-five, he had made his first contributions to the *Literary Gazette* and to *Blackwood's Magazine*. All these contributions were pseudonymous. To the *Gazette* Maginn was known as " Crossman " ; to *Blackwood's* as " Ralph Tuckett Scott ". He asked for no remuneration, and it was impossible for the editors of these journals to pay him, since he insisted on veiling his identity. They were highly enthusiastic at the shower of varieties he sent them : verse, classic paraphrases, anecdotes, squibs, burlesques. What matter that Maginn had already involved *Blackwood's* in a libel action with Professor Leslie of Edinburgh ? Blackwood had his own reasons for wishing to attack Leslie and was delighted when Maginn successfully challenged Leslie's scholarship.

In 1821, during the summer vacation, Maginn paid a flying visit to Edinburgh, and after some preliminary mystifications dramatically revealed himself to Blackwood. In ten minutes they are up to the elbows in friendship. Blackwood carries off the young Corkman to stay with him, and introduces him to such men as Wilson, Lockhart, Hamilton and Moir. It seems too that, during this time, Maginn met Sir Walter Scott. Maginn's brilliance, his charm of manner, his unaffectedness, warmth and spontaneity make friends for him and he returns triumphantly to Cork as a permanent contributor to *Blackwood's* at the highest rate paid to any writer. Now he writes all the time, out of school and in. The boys are set a task to keep them busy, and Maginn, at his desk, calls out " A rhyme for luctus ? " " Fructus ", answers some bright pupil. " Bene ", says Maginn, and his pen races wildly onward. So life continues for two more years. By then Maginn has acquired a considerable reputation in the literary world. In 1823 he marries Ellen Bullen, the daughter of a Kanturk clergyman, and that same year he is summoned to London to superintend a " Wednesday's newspaper " which the proprietors of *John Bull* have just projected. Maginn packs his effects, consigns the school to his brother John and crosses to England, which is henceforth to be the background of his activities.

But in truth England was always Maginn's background, and to understand this we must consider his upbringing. By birth, by breeding, by tradition, Maginn (a Protestant) was an ultra-Tory. He did not need to leave Ireland to become an expatriate Irishman. He was an expatriate Irishman from his earliest years. He would have said that he was a native of that British province, Ireland. All efforts to break the connection with England he regarded with loathing, and rebel Irishmen he dubbed assassins. He was what may be called politically anti-Catholic. That is to say that, while he willingly conceded to every man the right to worship in any way preferred, he violently opposed any measure of political freedom, much less of political control for Catholics. Catholic Emancipation was anathema in his sight. These were his views, and he maintained them

to the day of his death. He maintained them in theory; he maintained them in print; but in practice a more unprejudiced or generous being never existed.

Maginn was a man who could not be judged by his writings. He had the tongue of an adder and the heart of a lamb. In human intercourse, in friendship, in holding out a helping hand to those in need, he took no thought of a man's religion. He numbered many Catholics among his friends, and he did all he could to advance them. We know, for example, that in 1822, when James Joseph Callanan was sorely in need of aid, Maginn employed him in his school, introduced him to his literary friends, and within the year placed six of Callanan's poems in *Blackwood's*. We know too that, when Maginn was in London, he was a warm friend to those Irishmen who had settled there or who came, fresh from home, to try their luck. He had Father Prout appointed to the staff of *Fraser's Magazine*. He helped Banim and kept in touch with him. When Gerald Griffin, new to London, turned to Banim for guidance, Banim at once sought and secured the aid of Maginn—then at the height of his power. To London also at that time came the young Edmund Kenealy of Cork—to be remembered as an erratic barrister and man of letters. That Maginn formed a strong friendship with Kenealy cannot be offered as a further proof of Maginn's kindness to Catholics, since Kenealy, once a Catholic, had before leaving Ireland developed pronounced anti-Catholic views; but it does at least show that Maginn always welcomed people from his own country. Kenealy was at the end Maginn's only friend and was the first to write his biography. To Kenealy we are indebted for many intimate details of Maginn's life in London. He describes very vividly how Maginn once took him to where the poorer Irish lived in St. Giles (then called the Rookery), and showed him in particular one cellar where two hundred and fifty Irish men, women and children slept every night. Maginn was a frequent visitor at the Rookery, his knowledge of the Irish language there standing him in good stead. Well might Thackeray say with a sneer: "They all stick together, those Irish".

Literary London in Maginn's day was a trial of strength. Maginn was well suited to hold his own in such an environment. He had hardihood; he could take and give merciless blows; he could play the journalistic game with the best of them. Reviewing in those times was scarcely criticism; it was rather a ferocious kind of guerilla warfare. Every man's hand was not merely against his enemy, but against his brother. The magazines, which were either Whig or Tory, showed each other scant courtesy and were unrestrained in their vituperation of all public personages of opposing views. Imaginative writing of all kinds was judged less by its intrinsic merit than by the literary or social or political prejudices of the critics.

To this reviewing Maginn brought the full weight of his erudition and

his appalling power of invective. His touchstone of judgment was, above all, political. Tory writers could count at least on an indulgent criticism. Whigs and Radicals could prepare for the worst. All Maginn's victims are villains, ruffians, offspring of questionable parentage and unquestionable ignorance and vulgarity. When he is pleased with a book, he merely uses his avowed subject as a vaulting pole for his own flights. When he is displeased, then no Crowfoot Indian slowly hacking his victim to death at the torture-stake can vie with him in savagery. Plagiarism was an offence which he delighted in imputing to those who aroused his aggressiveness. In one case (when he proved that Byron's *Werner* was derived from Harriet Lee's *Kruitzner*) his researches were useful; in another (when he devoted two articles to proving Tom Moore a shameless plagiarist) his supposed proofs were merely absurd. An article in the *Times Literary Supplement* which appeared in August 1942, to commemorate Maginn's centenary, refers to " his unflinching critical integrity ". Nothing could be more mistaken. If by critical integrity the writer meant adherence to the true canons of criticism, then it must be said at once that Maginn had much learning but little judgment. When he deals with the works of such great ones as Shakespeare, he has a wealth of established criticism to guide him, and naturally he does not dare to undervalue. When he deals with writers living or recently deceased, he shows himself unable or unwilling to evaluate their work. He supports the *Quarterly's* attack on Keats. Keats is a " scribbler "; his *Endymion* is a silly and presumptuous work full of servile slang. Shelley is " the poetico-metaphysical maniac "; a " puling master of verbiage ". Shelley's poetry is " dreary nonsense ". The *Adonais* is " unintelligible stuff " and Maginn engages to write as good a production about Wontner, the City Marshal who broke his leg at the last Lord Mayor's Show (" Oh, weep for Wontner, for his leg is broke ") or about a tomcat (" Weep for my tomcat, all ye tabbies weep "). Tom Moore is an inferior punster, a second-rate diner-out, a fifth-rate political buffo. Sheridan is a buffoon and a rogue, who probably burned down Drury Lane Theatre himself. As for *The Rivals* and *The School for Scandal*, Maginn can only suggest that Sheridan was not their real author. Frances Sheridan, he says, wrote a few trifles, one of which was *Nourjahad*—" pilfered, we apprehend, from the French " (Maginn did not realise that in this original composition Frances Sheridan had made a significant contribution to the Oriental novel). Macaulay is stigmatised as a blackguard who ought to be kicked out of decent society. His mind is a void wherein writhe three snakes born out of the slime: sophism, charlatanism and impertinence. Thomas Campbell's writings induce in Maginn the reflection: " Time was that when the brains were out the man would die ". Byron's attack on *Blackwood's* or his epigrams on Sam Rogers are worth five dozen Prisoners of Chillon.

One might go on forever with this catalogue of Maginn's departures from the true canons of criticism. If, however, by integrity of criticism is meant fidelity to those standards which, however mistaken, Maginn had chosen as his own—then here also it is easy to prove that Maginn had not even integrity of prejudice, since his criticisms are not consistent. For example, in an article entitled *Irish Genius*, where it suited Maginn's purpose to laud the achievements of his countrymen, we read that Tom Moore is " a song-writer second only to Béranger " ; that Sheridan is " the author (I quote Byron) of ' the best opera and the best farce ' on the English stage ". No, critical integrity cannot be claimed for Maginn ; but that he was not, in his own day, regarded as a brutal critic is clear from Lockhart's eulogy : " Beat Bently, if you can, but omit the brutality ; rival Parr, eschewing all pomposity ; outlinguist Magliabechi, and yet be a man of the world ; emulate Swifte, but suffer not one squeeze of his *saeva indignatio* to eat your own heart. Be and do all this, and the Doctor will no longer be unique."

Such was the world into which Maginn plunged when he left Cork, and such were the laurels which he speedily won for himself. His connection with *John Bull* was soon severed, but Maginn did not care. He was contributing to many magazines, of which *Blackwood's*, *The Literary Gazette* and *The Quarterly* were a few. So high indeed did his reputation stand at this time that Murray entrusted him with the task of writing the Life of Byron. Maginn recommended Murray to publish Byron's memoirs and letters " entire with libels, sneers, satires, sarcasms, epigrams, confessions and intrigues, unmutilated and unasterisked and merely to prefix to the work such information as was absolutely indispensable ". (Mackenzie's Memoir of Maginn, 1857, p. xxxix). Murray took fright, withdrew the documents from Maginn and gave them to Moore. Moore deleted and expunged and trimmed this material into the etiolated Life of Byron with which we are familiar. Worse still, he burned the documents. It is not to be contended that Maginn, who had no understanding or respect for Byron's poetry, should have written Byron's Life ; nor is it to be contended that Byron's letters and memoirs should have been published unaltered during the lifetime of so many who would be exposed to scandal and suffering. But, on the other hand, it was execrable of Moore to destroy evidence which would have been invaluable to a later age.

Soon after these events Murray, who had established a new paper, *The Representative*, sent Maginn to Paris as foreign correspondent. In Paris Maginn applied himself in a desultory way, but we are told that he was better at borrowing than at writing articles. He began two novels and finished one. Back again in London Maginn became the assistant editor of *The Standard*. The next three years were the easiest and the happiest of his life. His literary productiveness remained unabated, and in 1830 he united with Hugh Fraser to found *Fraser's Magazine*. Maginn,

who was the leading spirit of the partnership, gathered around him a staff almost more brilliant than that of *The Quarterly*, *Blackwood's*, or the *Edinburgh*. Mediocrity fears a comparison with finer minds and tries to thrust them into the shade, but Maginn had no such reason for fear and he made *Fraser's* one of the most distinguished magazines of the day. Amongst the most famous features of *Fraser's* was *The Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters*. It was Maginn's purpose to present character studies of the most notable contemporary writers. He called in the Cork painter Maclise to provide the drawings, and he himself wrote almost all of the accompanying letter-press. These sparkling and witty sallies of Maginn have the air of being produced extempore, and bear, says Kenealy, a remarkable resemblance to the Doctor's conversation.

But all this time Maginn's private life was deteriorating. His erratic and volatile temperament made it impossible for him to steer a steady course, and the ship of his life may be said to have floated on pure alcohol. For a time, by virtue of an extraordinary strength and clearness of intellect, he escaped the rocks, but every day he drove nearer to destruction, and the end was not far. Even in his later period he continued to produce some of his finest work, but in many of his writings one can discern the fatal effects of his intemperance. Herein is no cause for wonder, for he wrote rapidly in the midst of his boon companions, laying down his pen to cap a story, to dash down another glass of brandy or to join in a chorus. He never revised. This is often evident in the lack of connected thought, the digressions, the excited reiterations, the pause, the break, before he finds again the thread of his discourse and saves himself in time. But he did not always save himself. In 1836 his review of the novel *Berkeley Castle* involved him in serious trouble. There followed the assault of the author, Grantley Berkeley, on James Fraser and Maginn's indecisive duel with Grantley Berkeley.

In this same year, 1836, Maginn suffered keenly through his friendship with Letitia Elizabeth Landon, a well-known writer of verse. In 1821, on a brief visit to London, he had met Letitia Landon and proposed to her, but her family thought her too young and him too impecunious to marry. After Maginn had married Ellen Bullen and established himself in London, he formed a lasting friendship with Miss Landon, but despite the gossip of the time there is no actual proof that their association was anything but harmless. Nevertheless, Miss Landon's reputation suffered. When, in 1836, at the age of thirty-four, she became engaged to John Forster (the biographer of Dickens) Mrs. Maginn anonymously sent to Forster some letters which she found in her husband's desk and which, couched in language of friendly affection, had been written to Maginn by Letitia Landon. Forster broke off the engagement. After two years Letitia Landon married the Governor of Cape Coast Settlement and went with him to West Africa. Two months later she was found dead in circumstances

which indicated suicide. Her death had a shattering effect on Maginn. It was the crowning stroke in a long series of misfortunes, under which he soon sank to rise no more. Pursued by duns, possessed by the devil of drink, we see him hiding by day in a dirty garret, emerging at night to walk awhile under the sky. We see him in the Fleet; we see him at last, at forty-eight, in direst want, dying of consumption, abandoned by his friends, abandoned too by the Tory politicians he had served so long. Kenealy tells us how, when he could no longer hold a pen, he tried to dictate; how, as he lay under the tattered blanket, he talked of sailing home to Cove—to his own people. How good, at least, that a Corkman was with him at the end!

A comprehensive account of Maginn's literary work would be like the labour of Sisyphus and in some respects might be likened to cleaning out the Augean stables. His name has been almost forgotten in the literary world, partly because he too often wrote hastily and for ephemeral purposes, partly because his writings have never been adequately sifted or classified. For twenty-three years he wrote voluminously under a multitude of pseudonyms and sometimes anonymously. Many of his productions it is impossible to identify with any certainty; others are lost; others have become so rare as to be procurable only with the greatest difficulty. There remains, however, sufficient evidence on which to form a judgment. Of this material we may discount those numerous works in prose and verse in which he satirised or otherwise attacked people who have long since faded from memory. But when this chaff has been separated from the wheat, we are left with much that is of interest and a small body of work which is of true and excellent quality. His writings comprise: verses in English and Latin (both classical and canine); translations; burlesques in verse and prose; fantastic *tours de force* which can scarcely be classified; novels, short stories and essays. His verses are frequently clever and melodious, but never approximate to poetry. That he lacked even the power to appreciate poetry we have already seen in his critical reviews. His parodies in verse, much admired in his time, are amusing when they burlesque second-rate poetry. When aimed at poetry of a finer kind they merely disgust. It has been said that as a parodist Maginn was second to none. This, no doubt, is true and his prose burlesques are highly deserving of praise. But it is hard to forgive his parodies on *Adonais*, *Endymion*, and *Christabel*; and his *Moore-ish Melodies* stick in the throat. His essays are frequently excellent, and in this regard one may refer to *The Nightwalker*. This little classic should be known (because that it is forgotten is no less sure than that it is a classic). There is not a word too much or too little. He gives with all the charm of humour, with all the vividness of acute preception a variety of London scenes with which he is familiar. We have the teeming activities of Covent Garden, the

tumult of Smithfield, the swearing of the drovers, the milkwomen with their clanking pails, the fish-dealers swaying by, basket on head, the Vauxhall revellers flaunting homeward in the grey dawn. This varied life, dexterously integrated, he sets before us in economical and sinewy prose. Maginn's critical essays, generally known as *The Shakespeare Papers*, are amongst his better works and show great scholarship. Many of his observations are shrewd, but his interpretation of character and motive is sometimes at fault (as in the case of Lady Macbeth and of Hamlet). Set side by side with Hazlitt's these essays dwindle sadly, but that is indeed a severe comparison. Maginn himself thought so well of *The Shakespeare Papers* that he published them over his own name, a distinction which he reserved only for one other work: *The Homeric Ballads*—which, in Saintsbury's opinion, are worthless.

As a writer of extravaganza Maginn was a compound of Lewis Carroll and Rabelais. He it was who initiated the *Noctes Ambrosianae*. Maginn, Lockhart, Wilson and others sustained between them this curious and diverting saga of literary good-fellowship. Some of the best-known writers of the day were represented as meeting in a tent and beguiling the time with talk of cabbages and kings. One delightful paper of Maginn's composition relates the arrival at the tent of the Widow M'Whirter and her recently acquired husband, Doctor Oglethorpe. Mrs. M'Whirter is a Hibernian Wife of Bath. She is " a short, dumpy woman . . . with smooth red cheeks and little twinkling roguish eyes ". She is arrayed in a green riding habit, yellow laced boots, and on her head waves elegantly a plume of light blue ostrich feathers. When the entire company has regaled itself with tea largely fortified by stronger waters various members are inspired to commemorate the occasion in song. Mrs. M'Whirter (full of spirit in every sense) volunteers a ditty of her own composition, accompanying herself on the edge of the table as on a spinet. In a wild metre of galloping garrulity she confidently narrates the amatory vicissitudes of her life, and each stanza falls into the affecting chorus:

" Oh, the Powldoodies of Burran,
The green, green Powldoodies of Burran,
The green Powldoodies, the clean Powldoodies,
The gaping Powldoodies of Burran."

A footnote explains that Powldoodies are oysters, and their introduction as leit-motiv can only be explained by the fact that, through all the whirling adventures of a crowded existence, Mrs. M'Whirter has been sustained by the consumption of these succulent bivalves.[1] But, in fact, the wild, inconsequent drollery of Maginn's work cannot be suggested by extract or synopsis.

Maginn had always been an omnivorous reader of novels at a time when novels still caused a cocking of eyebrows among the literati. We know

[1] There are, to the present day, famous oyster beds near Burren, Co. Clare.

that Maginn attempted three novels and finished one. His unfinished novel, *Life in Paris*, has disappeared, and we can judge it only by the criticisms of Blackwood and Dr. Moir. Blackwood calls this novel a very queer work. Knowing Maginn, he considers it unlikely that it will ever be completed, but he meditates publishing the existing chapters in *Blackwood's* and sends the manuscript to Moir for his judgment. Moir says that the production was " full of power, originality and interest ". Within the year Maginn published anonymously *Whitehall, or the Days of George IV*. Jerdan (of the *Literary Gazette*) speaks of this work as " a singular example of wild genius ". Kenealy characterises it as " one of the most wild and extraordinary productions of the day, overflowing with madcap wit and quaint learning, and containing sketches of all the leading characters of the time from George IV down to Jack Ketch the hangman ". It is, in fact, a species of " Key-novel "—only that, for many of the characters, one does not even need a key. It is a double satire, striking not merely at political big-wigs, but also burlesquing excellently the weaker historical novelists who strove to imitate Scott. The swooning sensibility of hero and heroine is most amusingly ridiculed. It is a pity that space does not permit some quotations which would give a taste of this book's quality, but we cannot resist one. Wellington and Lord Goderich, having entrapped an attacking army in the Thames Tunnel (which is instantly flooded and sealed upon them by five hundred masons), escape in a cockboat for the shore :

" Aye," said Lord Goderich, on landing—" Choke the scoundrels, they are done, I fancy. Pretty considerably water-logged, the ruffians. Devil sweep 'em ! "

" Amen," responded the Duke, " but I am wet through and through. Whom have we here ? Ah, Gloucester, my boy, give us the fist ".

Of Maginn's third novel, *John Manesty, the Liverpool Merchant*, little can be said, since he only wrote the first chapters. Two years after Maginn's death, Charles Ollier, having gleaned from Maginn's daughter her ideas of what her father had intended to write, completed the work, which was published for the benefit of Maginn's family.

The best wine we have kept for the last. Maginn's short stories are wine indeed—the quintessence of his genius. The best of these, selected by the Rev. C. A. Maginn of Sheffield (William Maginn's nephew), were republished in 1933. Since they are easily available, we need make little effort to indicate plot and can confine ourselves to considering their literary value. There is no doubt that these tales are among the finest in English literature. Of the ten stories in this collection, seven are Irish not only in subject but in treatment. Three of these seven Irish stories appeared in the *Fairy Legends* of that Corkman, Crofton Croker. These (*The Legend of Bottle Hill, The Legend of Knocksheogowna*, and *The Legend of Knockgrafton*) are authentic folklore and, if read aloud, sound exactly like the

narration of a seanachaidhe. If that is true of these three stories, it is superlatively true of that unique jewel *Daniel O'Rourke*.

One can safely challenge any literature to produce a fairy story better than *Daniel O'Rourke*. It is Maginn's great gift that he can make the most fantastic adventures credible, and in this tale he begins by vouching for O'Rourke: "I knew the man well; he lived at the bottom of Hungry Hill, just at the right hand side of the road as you go towards Bantry. An old man was he at the time that he told me the story, with grey hair and a red nose; and it was on the 25th of June, 1813, that I heard it from his own lips, as he sat smoking his pipe under the old poplar tree, on as fine an evening as ever shone from the sky." And so, with great directness and verve, Daniel O'Rourke unwinds his yarn, beginning with his predicament when he finds himself alone on a *dissolute* island in the middle of a bog. He is rescued by an eagle who subsequently behaves with low cunning, is marooned on the moon, is cast off by the Man in the Moon, is again rescued in mid-air by a gander and dropped into the depths of the ocean, where he encounters a whale and wakes at that moment to find his wife Molly emptying a pan of water on top of him. What a world it is—this world of Daniel O'Rourke! There is nothing like it since the world was young. It is not simply that the animals talk—we should expect that—but that they talk with such racy humour and naturalness. Space is no bar to acquaintance in this delightful fellowship of all creation. When the door opens in the moon, "creaking on its hinges as if it had not been opened for a month before", and out walks the Man in the Moon, there is no need for introductions: "Good morning to you, Daniel O'Rourke", says he. When the gander in mid-air sees Dan whizzing to earth, he cries out: "Is that you, Dan?" and with rare powers of observation he adds: "I think 'tis falling you are, Daniel." All these beings of Maginn's fancy are so vividly characterised that we should know them if we met them in the morning. And why should we not meet them in the morning? Everything is possible in a world where one can encounter "a salmon with a cravat around his neck and a pair of new top-boots".

Another type of Irish story is *Bob Burke's Duel with Ensign Brady*. This is written with sparkling cynicism. It opens like a cork popping out of a bottle of champagne, foams up with winking bubbles to the very brim of humour and, with mellow dryness, makes us laugh at human motives and foibles. Bob Burke tells the story, and his own character is skilfully implied in his narration. An officer of the 48th, stationed at Mallow, he thought he "might as well fall in love with Miss Theodosia MacNamara" who seems likely to inherit all the wealth of a miserly uncle. Bob's rival, Ensign Brady, was "a long, straddling, waddle-mouthed chap who had no more notion of riding a hunt than a rhinoceros". There is an extremely funny hunting scene. Then follows the matchless occasion when both suitors call on Miss Theodosia and Ensign Brady

scores heavily by spattering his conversation with dukes and earls and negligently presenting himself as a man of the world to whom Paris is an open book. Theodosia's mother is duly impressed. " Bob, my dear ", she says to the envious Burke, " I wish it was in your power to travel, to see the Booleries and the Tooleyvards and the rest, and then you might be, in course of time, as genteel as Ensign Brady ". Such unfair opposition could only be wiped out by blood, and Burke, in earnest conference with his hoary friend Wooden Leg Waddy, casts about for some pretext which would enable him to challenge the hapless Ensign. The subtleties of Burke's reasoning and the invariability of Waddy's agreement with the most contradictory arguments give a perfection of high comedy, and it is hard to understand why Wooden Leg Waddy has not passed into the treasury of permanent literature side by side with My Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim. In the actual duel and the unforseen *dénouement* the humour is finely maintained.

In Maginn's day his *Vision of Purgatory* was much admired, and has been highly praised since by such critics as have infrequently delved into his works. *The Vision of Purgatory* is indeed very well told, but it does not seem comparable with *Bob Burke's Duel*. Lest it might be imagined that any of these Irish stories are of the stage-Irishman type of writing, one must state at once that they are nothing of the kind. Maginn had a withering scorn for pseudo-Irish productions, as he amply testifies in a review of a certain collection of supposedly Irish songs. Maginn slashes to pieces these vulgar rantings of shillelaghs and pigs. " There is ", he says, " I perceive, a disinclination becoming very visible on the part of the English to believe us Irish people when we tell them that they know nothing about us ". And having, at great length, shown line by line the impertinent ignorance of these cheap effusions, he adds : " Some time or other, perhaps, I may in the same way get through the usual stage characters in which we figure, and prove them equally remote from the truth ".

Of Maginn's non-Irish stories the best are : *The Story without a Tail, The Man in the Bell,* and *Jochonan in the City of Demons. The Story without a Tail* Saintsbury calls inimitable, and no less praise would be fitting for this gem of irresponsible bohemianism. It is not possible to describe it. It must be read. *Jochonan* is an Oriental tale. It shows Maginn in serious mood, pointing a moral and, as ever with this most versatile of writers, his style adapts itself effortlessly to the subject-matter. Terseness, force, absolute clarity, and a miraculous power of finding always the perfect word—these are Maginn's abiding characteristics in his stories. In *Jochonan* his tone is dignified, even sonorous, and the terror which enshrouds Jochonan is suggested with admirable restraint. Another tale of terror—far more vivid than *Jochonan*—is *The Man in the Bell.* It describes an unfortunate trapped in a belfry and forced to lie under the massive bell while it tolls with annihilating clangour. One can

think of few compositions which are comparable with Maginn's dissection of this horror which rises finally into a sort of delirium. Every one who reads it becomes, for that short space, the man in the bell.

It is pleasant to praise what has, to some extent, been praised already. It is a unique privilege to bring out of unjust obscurity a work of Maginn's which has never been mentioned by those few critics who have concerned themselves with him. This is *Pococurante*—precious metal which has lain forgotten under the debris of an almost unworked mine. *Pococurante* is highly valuable for several reasons. It is valuable because it is an almost flawless work of art and because it gives, under a slight, semi-fictional disguise, the real mind of Maginn. Here and there in literature, though infrequently, we come upon the life-blood of a heart crushed between the upper and the nether millstone. Such we have in Mangan's " Rush forth, my song ". Such we have too in *Pococurante*. *Pococurante* is not a story. It is rather a dramatic monologue which drifts into a soliloquy, and that the true speaker is Maginn there is no doubt.

With the flick of a sentence Maginn sketches in the background (a tavern) and the listener, one Jimmy Musgrove, a simple hearty youngster who can make nothing of the recital. " You look at me ", says Maginn, " with your honest eyes staring in wonder ". The monologue begins: " I do not care a farthing about any man, woman or child in the world ", and in every following sentence he reveals how much he does care. But this *de profundis* is, after all, nothing so simple as a cry from the depths. Two moods struggle against each other: lonely grief rising up in a flood of vehement explanation and being choked back by one who professes a sardonic indifference to all the world. The interweaving and the alternation of these two attitudes; the moments of revelation, of self-reproach, of self-dissection; the abrupt recoil, the attempted resumption of reckless high spirits—these are the main constituents of that subtle technique by which Maginn obliquely achieves his effects. With masterly control of his instruments he conveys heart-break without heroics, love without sentimentality, remorse without weakness. Isolated within his mind as in a world of empty space, he faces himself at last and makes a reckoning. " My friends? " he says, " What friends? " He has companions, jolly good fellows, capital jokers, " But would one of them crack a joke the less, drink a glass the less, sing a song the less, if I died in the morning? Not one—nor do I blame them, for if they were engulfed in Tartarus, I should just go through my daily round, keep moving in the same monotonous treadmill of life, with other companions to help me through, as steadily as I do now ". He has joked too in his time, but never with malice. He has fought a duel. " I acknowledge I fought it and fired three shots. What then? Could I avoid it? . . . Never was I happier than when I felt the blood trickle over my shoulders, for the wise laws of honour were satisfied and I was rid of the cursed trouble ". He has dirtied his fingers

with ink? True, but: " I write with no ill-feeling; public men or people who thrust themselves before the public I just look on as phantoms of the imagination, as things to throw off commonplaces about ". He had friends once—and he names them. He lost them, he says, some through his own fault, some through the fate that tangles up men's lives. Love? He in love? He laughs in derision. But when his listener has gone, out of the inmost recesses of his heart he brings the memory of one whom he calls " Margaret ", and in his further utterances we understand the deepest tragedy of Maginn. What is left, then, of all this squandered life? He tells us in valediction :—

" My mind is as if slumbering, quite wrapped up in itself, and never wakes but to act a part. I rise in the morning to eat, drink, talk, to say what I do not think, to advocate questions which I do not care for, to join companions whom I value not, to indulge in sensual pleasures which I despise, to waste my hours in trifling amusements or more trifling business, and to retire to my bed perfectly indifferent as to whether I am ever again to see the shining of the sun. Yet is my outside gay and my conversation sprightly. Within I generally stagnate, but sometimes there comes a twinge, short indeed, but bitter. Then it is that I am, to all appearance, most volatile, most eager in dissipation; but could you lift the covering which shrouds the secrets of my bosom, you would see that, like the inmates of the hall of Eblis, my very heart was fire."

Yes, his very heart was fire—this Pococurante—this Leeside Yorick.

B. G. MacCarthy

IRISH INDUSTRY AND POST-WAR PROBLEMS

BY JAMES MEENAN, M.A.

IT is extraordinarily difficult to forecast the situation that will face us at the end of the war. It seems certain that a resumption of ordinary trade will not come as quickly as it did in 1919. War, it is to be presumed, will still be waged in the Far East, over an area that contains some of the richest stores of raw materials. The disorganisation of Europe threatens to be far greater than anything witnessed after the last war, while its need of food will be infinitely more pressing. To conduct war in Asia and to restore peace in Europe it will be necessary to employ, for many months after the end of hostilities against the Axis, vast resources of men, of foodstuffs and raw materials and, most important of all, great numbers of ships by which alone men and materials can be moved over the great distances involved.

If the circumstances resembled those of 1919, our industries might have looked forward to peace as the signal to resume full production. The shortages of the last four years have to be made good; depleted stocks have to be replenished; types and qualities of articles standardised for the emergency have to be restored to circulation. The progress of scientific adaptation, for example, might well provide new prospects of production. The event may prove better than it threatens to be, but it does not seem that post-war industry will be able to settle easily into its pre-war groove. It has been pointed out in a previous article that our industrial system depends greatly on a considerable volume of international trade. It may be a long time after the armistice before that trade returns to normal conditions.

It is suggested that the post-war problems of industrial policy are of two kinds. There are, in the first place, what may be termed short-time disabilities arising from the disorganisation of trade and labour. There are, in the second place, the long-term problems which will involve decisions as to import and export policy that will vitally affect our industrial and agricultural economy. Undoubtedly, with so much uncertainty, some of these problems may never arise; others may prove to be more serious than we anticipate; but the majority of them appear to be inescapable. It may be of some advantage to consider them briefly.

To the present writer it seems that the immediate difficulties may be stated, in decreasing order of complexity, as being manpower, raw materials, taxation and currency. The question of manpower may well bear a threatening aspect. Hitherto, we have always had, even long before the

Famine, a large emigration. It was a tide that had no inward flow; our emigrants remained where they settled down—in New York or Sydney, Montreal or Boston. They had no desire to return, nor, if they did have such ideas, could they always afford the expense of a transoceanic journey. In 1931 and 1932 the return of emigrants disillusioned with Hoover prosperity, however great its economic effects, was comparatively small in volume. Our post-war problem may be of a very different kind. There are no reliable statistics of the number of men and women who have left since 1939 to join the British Forces or to take up war-work; but it is suggested that the total cannot be less than 150,000 and may be a great deal larger. It is probable that the demobilisation of armies and the resumption of civil employment will displace these emigrants and force them back to find whatever employment they can find here.

It is clear that, taken in conjunction with the existing number of unemployed here, such an avalanche of immigrants could not be stayed except by measures, such as industrial conscription, that would alter the whole nature of our State. It does not follow necessarily, however, that all the emigrants would be displaced at once. It is true that the Government of the Six Counties (who must be the last practising Sinn Feiners left in Ireland) has provided that all labour from the Twenty-six Counties will be repatriated at the end of the war. Such a decision, however, would involve only a very small percentage of the total emigration. Also, the position in Great Britain will be somewhat different. In the first place, the cessation of hostilities in Europe, coupled with a slowing-down of work on armaments, will mean that the problem of manpower will be greatly eased. This, it is true, might involve the immediate displacement of Irish workers, but it is more probable that it will lead to the retirement from employment of all those who have been swept into factory work by the stress of war—the married women, the young girls, the men of over-working age. In the second place, as has been said already, the armistice will not bring peace all over the world. There will still be need of armies, navies and air forces in Asia; there will still be need of armies of occupation in Europe. These forces will not only have to be kept at their requisite strength; they will also require (a service that needs an increasing amount of manpower) to be kept supplied with munitions and provisions. It is not, therefore, to be expected that there will be immediate demobilisation and a resultant congestion of the British labour market. Whether it be by the retention with the Forces of enlisted men or by conscription of the younger age-groups, there will not be full replacement of the amount of labour caught up by military service. In the third place, it is certain that, for at least some years after the war, the full resources of the British building industry will be engaged in replacing the destruction caused in 1940–41. When that task is finished, there will still remain the ordinary programme of rebuilding and slum-clearance that was interrupted

by the war. In this occupation, especially, there has been a constant demand for Irish labour.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the problem of Irish labour in Great Britain is one of the most delicate questions that will face an Irish Government after the war. At no time has Irish labour been popular among the British working-class, and it is likely to be less popular still if so many thousands of that class are still detained on the Rhine or in the Pacific. It will be necessary for the Irish Government to take far more interest in the fortunes of its nationals abroad than it has ever done in the past.

It is suggested, then, that the problem of manpower will not be so acute as is feared in some quarters. The true difficulty is of a different order. In so far as these emigrants have received an industrial training, it may be a kind that does not satisfy the needs of Irish industry. They will have been trained to various processes of mass-production rather than to any one skilled trade. It will be difficult to absorb them into the comparatively small scale Irish factories.

A still more powerful cause of dislocation will be the enormous gap between Irish and English wages. Last April some disturbance was caused in Lincolnshire by the replacement of English by Irish agricultural labourers. The point at issue was, of course, the importation of labour from a neutral state. There was no discussion of the wages that the Irish labourers were to get. Yet the wages to be paid were £7 a week—a wage that may be instructively compared with the agricultural wage obtaining in this country. It is well-known that the level of industrial wages is far higher than that of agricultural wages. Even in Great Britain, Irish and British workers might well find a considerable reduction in their wages once the immediate emergency is over. That reduction may well lead to considerable labour unrest. The chances of such unrest are very much greater in the case of Irish workers who have to drop suddenly from British to Irish standards. It is in this matter of wages (including the various social services provided in Great Britain on a more lavish scale than here) that one of the greatest dangers to Irish industry is to be found. It provides, incidentally, one of the strongest arguments for following world currency policy in the post-war years.

Let us grant, however, that the return of emigrants will be on a scale that allows of their absorption into industry. The necessity of raw materials arises at once. The utter dependence of Irish industry on imports of raw materials has already been stressed. A sidelight upon it has been thrown by no less an authority than Mr. Lemass who, writing in the Irish Supplement of *The Banker* for July 1943, points out that imports of materials for industry and agriculture formed 46.6% of our total imports in 1929 and 59.1% in 1938. As the sterling assets of Irish banks now

amount[1] to £120 million, it is clear that we have sufficient purchasing power to obtain what we want. But it is by no means so clear that we will be allowed to get it. Granted that our needs are small, the necessities of Europe must be satisfied first. That much will be allowed by all. What is more uncertain and what gives rise to greater anxiety is the question of whether, even when Europe is supplied, we will rank high in the list of priorities. It is pretty certain that plans for the distribution of raw materials are now being drawn up; it is quite unknown (to the public at least) whether or not we have been invited to participate in the discussions that must accompany the compilation of these plans. It is well to remember that we do not appear to have been invited to the recent Conference on Food and Agriculture or to the Conference on post-war finance. It is quite clear that we cannot afford to be isolated in these vital matters and that the Government must use whatever goodwill it possesses to obtain a reasonable amount of raw materials as soon as possible.

The next immediate problem that we must face, taxation, is fortunately within our control. The Corporation Profits Tax has weighed heavily on Irish industry since its imposition. The needs of the community have justified a heavier burden of taxation than has ever been experienced in the history of this country, but this tax has come at a particularly unfortunate time for some industries. They are now long enough in existence to be able to take advantage of increased demand for their goods, but this tax seriously impedes them from doing so and from improving their financial position. If the circumstances of peace permit a reduction in the greatly increased expenditure on Defence (the issue for this purpose was £1.7 million in 1938–39 as against £8.4 million in 1942–3), it is to be hoped that this tax will be one of the first to be modified. In the meantime industrialists must derive what comfort they can from the remark of Mr. Sean T. O'Kelly in the issue of *The Banker* already cited: "As mentioned in the Budget Statement this year, there are indications that the high level at which both Income Tax and Corporation Profits Tax have been pegged, act to some extent as a deterrent to industrial and commercial enterprise."

This brings us to what is almost the most imponderable of all the post-war problems, finance and currency. It is not proposed to examine it fully in an article of this nature where so many vital considerations can only be mentioned. This much, however, may be said. In the first place, if there is to be any financial stability at all, it is almost certain that British and American financial policy must go hand in hand. It is equally certain, if these two countries reach agreement, that the financial policies of the countries with which they are in alliance at present and in trade relations in peace will be adjusted to follow suit. It is for us to consider

[1] *Economist*, August 7, 1943.

whether our financial policy should be designed to co-operate with the rest of the world or whether we should attempt, like South Africa in 1932 and Switzerland in more recent years, to maintain an isolated policy of our own.

It is a question which is not so much one of parity as of purchasing power. If price levels in Great Britain and Ireland diverge to a marked extent, the problem of wages in a mobile population may seriously affect the balance of migration. Is it possible to maintain a stable rate of wages and salaries in Ireland at a time when the British rate is rising? Is it possible to have fixed prices in a carefully sheltered industrial system while our agriculture is selling in a market subject to controlled inflation?

These are technical questions that can only be answered when the facts of the case are fully evident and, even then, the decisions reached may need frequent revision. They raise, however, matters still more fundamental to our industrial and, indeed, our whole economic policy. These matters may be shortly stated. Since 1939 our economic policy has been crystallised. Its only modification has been the necessary drive for greater production of human food. That stagnation will soon be broken by peace and, still more, by whatever international decisions may be reached on finance and trade. Here again we do not appear to have been invited to the international discussions that are on foot. It is highly probable that at some stage we will be asked to participate, and it is most desirable that we should begin to consider the issues involved. It is, therefore, of some importance to discover what opinions are held in Great Britain on the future of international trade. In the first place our closest trade relations are with that country. In the second place, as Mr. Lemass has remarked :[1] " From every point of view, it is in the interest of the United Kingdom that after the war an increased volume of Irish foodstuffs should be consumed in Great Britain. From the Irish point of view, Eire's future prosperity is largely bound up with that of the agricultural community, and Irish agriculture can expand only through exports."

To generalise there appear to be two main schools of thought : one expressed in the columns of *The Times*, the other in those of the *Economist*. Oddly enough, as will be seen, both of them hold out some promise to Irish agriculture ; and it is through this fact that our industrial policy is so deeply affected. The trend of opinion among one school is adequately represented by the following extract from an article in *The Times*[2] written by Colonel Walter Elliot, M.P., who held office as Minister of Agriculture some ten years ago :—

" To-day again the skill of the chemist, the power of the engineer is making the production of previous specialities possible on the grand scale everywhere. The

[1] *The Banker*, Irish Supplement, July 1943, p. 17.
[2] " Autarky, Old and New." (*The Times*, June 8, 1943).

problem to be solved here is not a problem of exchange. It is how to relate production to consumption. Local production must allow for local consumption.

Moreover, trade areas will have to be correlated to defence areas. Britain will not be able to leave so large a proportion of her butter-pats in the charge of nations who have neither means nor intention to defend them. Danish butter without Danish guns was simply an invitation to the Germans to cross the border and seize it. Baltic bacon, Java sugar—the first thing any customer is going to ask will be, 'Can you guarantee continued delivery?' If not—Canadian bacon, Norfolk sugar-beet. The preferences of Ottawa were not economic aggression; they were the stiffening of the frame of the great ship[1] to carry guns." [And, one may add, Irish cattle and Irish eggs—perhaps even Irish butter.]

The other school as represented by the *Economist*,[2] having considered the recent growth of anxiety about foreign markets, proceeded to say:—

"Two articles which have recently appeared in the *Times* have illustrated the more ludicrous aspects of these general tendencies. One of these was signed by Colonel Walter Elliot, whose thesis was that modern technical developments made international trade entirely unnecessary; autarky was the natural system of the twentieth century. This is utterly wrong-headed. It may be true that scientific invention is making it technically possible for a country to make at home all its essential requirements—provided that it pays no attention at all to any considerations of real or money cost. But scientific invention is simultaneously extending the advantages to be derived from international exchange. The more producers there are and the greater diversity of methods, the greater are the potential benefits of the division of labour. Just as the individual in a nation gains from the growth in the productive competence of the community, so will the nations in the world commonwealth. A rich industrialised nation may spend a smaller proportion of its total income on imports than a poor primary producer; but it is a vastly better market. It may some day be physically possible for the British people to make at home all that they need. But, Colonel Elliot's whimsy apart, the commonsense of the position is what it always has been; there are many things that the British people must import if they are to live at all; and if they are to live well, they must not debar themselves from buying goods from where they are cheapest or best."

It will be seen at once that Irish agriculture stands to gain from either of these policies. There is not likely to be any trade route more secure than the Irish Sea; there is a possibility that some day our agricultural policy may be rescued from its present slough and that Irish bacon, butter and eggs may regain their proper standing. Granted that there is no discrimination, the Irish farmer has nothing to fear from British policy—whatever be its effects on the Dane, the Pole or the Finn.

On the other hand, if we are allowed to export with reasonable freedom, it follows that we must allow some freedom of import. As will be said later, this does not necessarily involve any reversing of our industrial policy; it does mean that we should not press it to the extent of making everything at home that it is physically possible to make. This may involve some sacrifice of industrial aspirations. But it is quite clear that, allowing for that sacrifice, we would be gainers on balance.

[1] Some readers may not have seen the comment of Professor G. L. Schwartz that the great ship appeared to carry a disproportionate amount of bilge.

[2] *Economist*, June 19, 1943.

This point involves the old argument whether agriculture or industry should be the first charge on our resources. At the risk of repetition, it has to be said that a prosperous agriculture is and, in any conceivable future, must continue to be the first aim of our economic policy. The reasons for such a conclusion may be briefly summarised. Just under one-half of the working population is engaged in agriculture; about two-thirds of the population live on the land or in small villages. These figures do not exhaust the importance of agriculture; for, as will be seen at once, many thousands of workers in other occupations depend on its prosperity. The shopkeeper in a small town, the bank clerk, the railway porter has a direct interest in the fortunes of the farmer. In the last resort the rural community provides (or should provide) the only market that many of our industries possess.

A secondary, but no less important, point is the necessity of a prosperous agriculture to our standard of living. It is the one great exporting industry that we possess; it is by its exports that we are able to buy the raw materials necessary to industry and to import all those luxuries or conventional necessities that make up our standard of living. An increasing standard of living has multiplied these luxuries. To take one example, in 1924 there were 13,380 private motor-cars in Eire; in 1939 there were 52,401. All those cars, with the tyres, the petrol and oil that they consumed, had to be imported. There had to be exports to pay for them. Other examples could be cited. It is to be expected that, once post-war trade is organised, the standard of living will continue to rise. The example of Denmark alone shows that a rural population can enjoy a high standard of living. And, it must never be forgotten, if the standard of living here falls markedly below that obtaining in Great Britain, the temptation to emigrate will be enormously increased. Self-sufficiency does not necessarily mean a retention of population; it may easily mean the opposite.

For these reasons, any chance to increase our agricultural export trade should be seized with alacrity. Does this mean that we should slow down or reverse our industrial policy? It is clear that there can be no question of reversing it. A considerable amount of public and private money has been sunk in industrial enterprises. Many of them were only finding their feet at the outbreak of war; and it would be grossly unfair to argue that enforced inactivity since then (so far as that did occur) means that they can never become established. It may well be that, in many cases, a certain degree of protection will always be necessary. If so, it should be given. What should not be tolerated is the feeling that protection is a comfortable shelter from the necessities of competition and efficiency. Still less to be tolerated is the feeling that a protective policy is something that is morally more correct than one of free trade. In the nineteenth century we were caused unnecessary suffering by a blind adherence to Free Trade; in the twentieth we risk stagnation and decline by an equally unreasoning

devotion to Protection. Neither Free Trade nor Protection are truths in themselves.

In the future we should concentrate on more efficient production in the industries that we now possess rather than seek to add greatly to their number. On the pretext of absorbing the unemployed, there is likely to be a demand for increased protection and for the development of new forms of industrial ' self-sufficiency ' after the war. The provision of ultimately unproductive work may solve that problem for the moment, but it will create perhaps insoluble difficulties in the future.

Essentially the post-war decision before us (and it involves both industry and agriculture) is whether we intend to carry over our attempt at self-sufficiency into peace-time or whether we intend to enter into the give and take of international trade which is, incidentally, so necessary for the survival of our industries. Certain forms of self-sufficiency have been forced on us by the war that may well be abandoned with relief. We are unlikely to continue to burn turf if coal is available; we are unlikely to prefer war-time bread to the white loaf. Any attempt at industrial self-sufficiency will involve, whatever degree of success it may enjoy, that we will live in peace-time under the conditions of war-time. Our industries will soon be called on to face abnormal problems. With the help that they are entitled to expect from the community, they should be able to overcome them. Beyond that, it is suggested, the State should not employ its resources. The first duty of the State, now and after the war, is to the agricultural community—on whose prosperity we are all, employers or workers, ultimately dependent.

James Meenan

SHAW AND YEATS

BY JOSEPH P. HACKETT

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW and William Butler Yeats have a wide appeal, and these three books[1] have been much in demand. The appeal is wider and the demand stronger perhaps outside Ireland than at home. The two prophets are without much honour from the native Irish. The greatest modern playwright and the greatest modern poet are ignored in the land of their birth. Abroad they hold a high place in modern education and culture, not only in the English-speaking countries but in other lands. Shaw plays have a wide vogue in foreign languages, and Yeats's poems are read in the schools of Sweden and India. Both writers have been awarded the Nobel prize for literature, but the Irish school-boy only hears of them by chance—their works are not on his curriculum. It is not that the plays and poems are unpopular or unknown, but rather that they are ignored. The Irish countryman does not think much of them.

Years ago this distaste might have been imputed to peasant ignorance and native barbarism ; that was how the occasional uproars in the Abbey Theatre used be explained. When a Yeats play was hooted off the stage, James Joyce wrote of *The Day of Rabblement*. Popular protests used to be associated with lack of enlightenment ; the demonstrations of the mob were despised as mass-ignorance-in-action. The polite mind of Europe was shocked when the apartments of the French King were invaded by the common people, but later the tide turned and " the trampling hoofs of the vulgar " became " the onward sweep of democracy." Wild things happen and their value is hard to assess in the heat of the moment. On the night of 10 March 1943 a mob of undergraduates gathered in Dublin to pour cold water on the champions of the language revival. Was that " trampling hoofs " or " onward sweep " ? Was the hosing of the marchers " the last squirt of skulking shoneenism " or " the first gush of honest national life " ? We would be rash to give judgment so soon. Our grandchildren will be able to speak with more assurance.

But Shaw has reached an age when the voice of grandchildren is in order—and Dr. Conrad Arensburg of Harvard University has found that the rusticity of the Irish countryman is neither irrational nor barbarous. He has shown that Irish rural life is integral, that it instinctively conserves

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[1] *Bernard Shaw : Life and Personality.* By Hesketh Pearson (Collins, 1942, 21s.).
Bernard Shaw : Art and Socialism. By E. Strauss (Gollancz, 1943, 6s.).
W. B. Yeats : 1865–1939. By Joseph Hone (Macmillan, 1943, 25s.).

what is good for it and rejects what would weaken it. He has shown, in fact, that it reacts as a healthy organism in maintaining its strength and vitality. There is a very definite local reaction to any mention of the names of Yeats and Shaw, which does not vary much from place to place. From Louth to Galway and from Wexford to Donegal the response is much the same. It is nearly always personal, usually caustic, and can be summed up in two words—" Planters' Sons."

The native Irishman gets on very well with the planters in the ordinary course of events. So long as they settle down to the life of the countryside, working the same sort of land and getting together at the same fairs and shows, he is prepared to let bygones be bygones. But when one of them begins to preach to him and tell him how to behave, the centuries dissolve in an instant and he begins to see red. He begins to think of Drogheda and Oliver Cromwell and James Ussher and Dublin University and all the other items of the first mission from Geneva to Ireland.

There had been other invasions, but none like the Puritan one. The Danes and Normans played the game according to the rules of their day, and there were no hard feelings after a generation or two. The planters were different. They came with Bibles and an attitude of moral superiority. They pretended they were taking the land not because they wanted it but to purify it : " The land you go to possess is an uncelan land, because of the filthiness of the people that dwell therein." So they quoted from Ezra in 1654 : " Nay, ye shall surely root them out before you, lest they cause you to forsake the Lord your God." They came, they saw, and they preached. They were, they said, the bearers of a message. They had received a revelation and all must conform to it. All must come each week to the new preachers to hear the new gospel. Those who did not come were fined and thrown into outer darkness, where they remained from 1692 to 1829.

The Irish countryman was not disposed to listen to the preaching of the first planters, and he is not any better disposed towards the preaching of their sons. He is not misled by the fact that the fathers used professional preachers as mouth-pieces, while the sons use actors ; nor is he confused by the transfer of activity from the pulpit to the stage and public platform. When the preaching starts, he pays no attention to person or to place—he is aware only of the unchanging attitude of superiority and arrogance, and he forgets his charity and his manners : " Chips off the old block " . . . " They were a bad breed " . . . " Planters' Sons."

There was a scene in the Senate on 11 June 1925 when Yeats spoke on Divorce. He knew that the issue was a fundamental one, and he prepared his speech with great care. In the Hone biography the essentials of the scene have been captured in very few words : " His audience was very restive. One or two of the Roman Catholic Senators, a majority in the House, got up and went out ; others interrupted. Inside as well as outside

the Senate he was charged with having shown himself at last in his true Cromwellian colours." The speech ended on an impassioned note: "We against whom you have done this thing, are no petty people. We are one of the great stocks of Europe. We are the people of Burke; we are the people of Grattan; we are the people of Swift, the people of Parnell. We have created the most of the modern literature of this country. We have created the best of its political intelligence."

Some sixteen years before there had been another scene in the Gaelic League Hall in Rutland Square. Yeats was addressing an audience of young men interested in the links between literature and the language revival. He used the occasion to indulge in a bout of self-expression and assume a prophetic pose. It was a fascinating and very finished performance. Part of his audience, however, refused to be fascinated. There was some tension, but the storm did not break till a young law student from Mayo, proposing the vote of thanks, turned to the lecturer and told him in so many words that he was the foundering remnant of a degenerate dynasty. It was a spontaneous outburst, for the speaker was one of the promoters of the meeting and had prepared a real vote of thanks; but something came over him when Yeats began to speak as from a height. Yeats's reaction to the attack was interesting. He was a man of forty-four with an international reputation, his opponent was not quite twenty; yet the following week he found it necessary to retire to the citadel of Dublin University and summon all his powers to scoff at the boy who had dared to challenge his leadership.

The Cromwellians came, but they did not conquer. They set up a state, but it would not work. Their régime broke down morally and economically about the middle of the nineteenth century under stress of Darwinism and the Famine. In a sense it destroyed itself, for it was Tyndall who demolished Ussher and the landlords who were eaten up by the system they had themselves produced. Yeats, born in 1865, felt the full force of the collapse:—

> 1880. My father's unbelief had set me thinking about the evidences of religion and I weighed the matter perpetually with great anxiety . . . [1882] I was hot for argument in refutation of Adam, Noah and the Seven Days. I had read Darwin and Wallace and Huxley and Haeckel and would spend hours on a holiday plaguing a pious geologist who, when not in some job in Guinness's brewery, came with a hammer to look for fossils in the Howth cliffs. "You know," I would say, "that such and such human remains cannot be less, because of the strata they were found in, than fifty thousand years old." "Oh," he would answer, "they are an isolated instance," and when I pressed hard my case against Ussher's chronology he begged me not to speak of the subject again . . . [1885] Sometimes I would try to argue with my father, for I had come to think the philosophy of his fellow-artists and himself a misunderstanding created by Victorian science, and science I had grown to hate . . . [1890] Deprived by Huxley and Tyndall, whom I detested, of the simple-minded religion of my childhood, I had made a new religion—almost an infallible church—of poetic tradition.

The break down on the economic front moves in step, and is no less vividly pictured :—

1880. We left London for a long thatched cottage at Howth, Co. Dublin. The land war was now at its height and our Kildare land was slipping from us. Rents had fallen more and more, and we had to sell to pay some charge or mortgage . . . my memory of what my mother was like in those days has grown very dim, but I think her sense of personality, her desire for any life of her own had disappeared in her care for us and in much anxiety about money. I always see her, sewing or knitting, in spectacles and wearing some plain dress.

George Bernard Shaw, born in 1856, tells the same story though in a different key :—

[1865–1875]. I was badly brought up because my mother was so well brought up. Her character reacted so strongly against her strict and loveless training that churchgoing was completely dropped in our family before I was ten years old. . . . My father disapproved of the detachment of his family from the conventional observances that were associated with the standing of the Shaw family. But he was in the grip of a humorous sense of the anti-climax, which I inherited from him . . . when I scoffed at the Bible he would instantly and quite sincerely rebuke me, telling me, with what little sternness was in his nature, that I should not speak so . . . that the Bible was universally recognised as a literary and historical masterpiece ; and as much more to the same effect as he could muster . . . and would cap his eulogy by assuring me, with an air of perfect fairness, that even the worst enemy of religion could say no worse of the Bible than that it was the damnedest parcel of lies ever written. . . . [1874] I had been caught by the great wave of scientific enthusiasm which was then passing over Europe as a result of the discovery of Natural Selection by Darwin, and of the blow it dealt to the vulgar Bible worship and redemption-mongering which had hitherto passed among us for religion. . . . [1910]. It is only by an unfettered access to the whole body of Fine Art : that is to the whole body of inspired revelation, that we can build up that conception of divinity to which all virtue is an aspiration. . . . The real Bible of modern Europe is the whole body of great literature in which the inspiration and revelation of Hebrew Scripture has been continued to the present day.

Shaw describes the slow impoverishment of his family by picturing the difficulties of the younger son struggling to keep up appearances on inadequate income :—

Easy to tell him he must cut his coat according to his cloth. Impossible to do it without being trained on that measure from childhood. Impossible anyhow without dropping every relative and friend in the world, and stepping down, a mistrusted, ridiculous, incongruous stranger, into the social circle of his mother's maid and his brother's butler. . . . There is nothing for it but to live beyond one's income, to spunge, to beg, to take credit at the shops without means. . . . [1860–1875]. Think of the attempt to go into business with some pitiful little capital ! think of the struggle to make the loathed occupation yield a living ! think of the son for whom there is nothing but a clerkship in the office of some good-natured business acquaintance . . . my father was second cousin to a baronet and my mother the daughter of a country

gentleman whose rule was, when in difficulties, mortgage. That was my sort of poverty. The Shaws were younger sons from the beginning.

It is the same story however it is told. The Cromwellians were beaten (which is not, however, the same thing as saying that the natives had won); the great plantation had failed and the sons of the planters were adrift. But they were, truly, no petty people; they had the tenacity, the toughness of fibre, the overwhelming self-assurance of their forbears. Over and above these qualities Yeats and Shaw were endowed with wonderful imaginative power, keen sensitivity to beauty of sound and a great gift of words. Toward the end of the century each set out to carve a place for himself—Yeats in Dublin as artist-nationalist and Shaw in London as artist-socialist.

Mr. Hone describes the events of Yeats's life in dispassionate fashion. His biography is the only such summary that exists and is exceedingly well done.

Mr. Pearson keeps to the surface of things: "For us, for his biographer at any rate, Shaw's greatness lay not in his beliefs but in his humour, not in his preaching but in his personality. Humour is the poetry of life . . ." He is mainly interested in his subject as a source of entertainment to himself and to his readers.

Mr. Strauss does not agree with him; he sees the humour as "the sugar round the bitter pill." He sets out to give an interpretation of Shaw as artist and socialist on the basis of the conduct of the characters with which he has peopled his plays. His book is a short but vivid and original piece of work and is given a piquant quality through the conversion of the author by himself in the course of 120 pages. He calls up the Shavian characters from 1892 to 1942, from Mrs. Warren to King Magnus, to bear witness to a certain thesis as to what was passing in Shaw's mind .... and is overwhelmed by their evidence to the contrary. He begins by assuming that Shaw sacrificed his Socialism to his Art and winds up by believing that his Art was dominated by his Socialism. Incidentally and without in the least meaning to do so he brings out vividly the atmosphere of frustration that pervades the plays. The character-parade is a magnificent tribute to the originality and liveliness of Shaw's imaginative work, but it is also impressive evidence of its futility. His processions are gorgeous, but they have no objective. His people are forever setting out briskly with the air of going somewhere and are forever leaving audiences with the conviction that they have got nowhere.

Mr. Strauss moves rather uneasily in the concluding chapters. He has found his subject to be a thorough-going Socialist and a remarkable Artist. But it is clear that the two are on bad terms, that they are forever tearing at one another's vitals. The Socialist demands that the Artist write propagandist plays for him—Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Class War,

and all that—and the Artist sits down and rends him with a ridiculous Labour Leader or a Revolutionist's Handbook. Mr. Strauss tries to deal with this difficulty by saying that " Shaw's Socialism has endowed his work with the priceless gift of dramatic tension." But there is no " priceless gift " about it. There is a real row going on behind the scenes, and the audience are getting only a back-wash of the genuine conflict in the antics of the characters of his imagination. Had it not been for the power of that imagination the world would never have been aware of the fight that has been in progress for the last seventy years or so between the Protestant-Christian and the Pantheist-Materialist.

Mr. Strauss is, however, too much wedded to Socialism as a panacea for present ills to look on the conflict in detached terms. He believes that the choice confronting Europe is Communism or Catastrophe, and he sees Shaw's life as a struggle for Socialism or Extinction. It is an interesting view-point; but it leaves a lot of loose ends, as may be seen from the conclusions reached in the final chapter of this interesting book :—

> Had he been able to overcome the resistance to the realisation of his ideals, he would perhaps never have become an artist. His artistic work remained incomplete, because not even the highest art suffices for the solution of problems which can be decided only by real struggles. And if his art is incomplete, his character is not free from contradictions; yet both his personality and his work bear the stamp of true greatness, which comes from an unceasing and relentless struggle for mastery over the elemental forces of life and society.

This is all rather vague and likely to evaporate rapidly from the mind of the reader, who will, on the other hand, carry away from the book as a whole a lasting impression of a circus, fantastically and colourfully filled with the characters of plays from Widowers' Houses to King Charles, all cheering madly at the spectacle of two figures, one a Socialist and the other an Artist, chasing one another round and round and round an unending ring. Mr. Pearson might think this amusing. Mr. Strauss, however, warns his readers that the chase is no joke but a matter of life or death.

The dynamic power so striking in Shaw is absent in Yeats. Both were hard hit by the collapse of family fortunes and both retired to live in their imaginations. It was, they might have said, the only place for an Irish Gentleman to live during the latter part of the nineteenth century. " The elemental forces of life and society " had turned against their kind, and the only course open to a person of enlightenment and culture was to ignore them. Yeats retired permanently to his dream-world and became almost proof against what was happening about him. He tried—for he saw himself as the mind of a great crusade—to set up and guide a new national movement based on his faith in poetic tradition. He turned his back on the realities of the Irish situation, till the explosion of Easter 1916 impinged

too violently on his consciousness to be ignored. Even then old habits were strong, and he tried to tame a wild fact into poetry with the phrase *A terrible beauty is born.* Shaw lived on his imagination too for a time, but there was in him a sort of ferocious common sense that could not tolerate an undiluted diet of that sort, and he broke out suddenly as a Socialist. But imagination would not be denied and he was forever straying back into his dream-world, peopled with creatures that came up as it were from nowhere. " I was at home only in the realm of my imagination and at my ease only with the mighty dead." Shaw, like Yeats, got into deep waters through letting his imagination run away with him. Unlike Yeats, however, he one day partly woke up to the world about him, and since then he is forever pulling up sharply with some reference to everyday realities. The references come unexpectedly, but not unnaturally, and strike with unusual force on that account.

Yeats succumbed to his imagination and wedded it to strange beliefs early in life, yielding to the blandishments of a Bengali Brahmin and Madame Blavatsky. His efforts to blend Eastern Mysticism and Irish Nationalism had remarkable results, but not so remarkable as the efforts of Shaw to blend Materialistic Mysticism with British Imperialism. His campaign on this behalf—on behalf of what he calls " the religion of the twentieth century "—has been as earnest, and in its own way as thorough as that of Calvin. Yeats dallied with his crusade in a nebulous sort of way, but Shaw was downright and open. Nothing would be plainer than the statement he presented to a Select Committee of the House of Lords and House of Commons on this point in 1907. The following passage is typical :

> I am not an ordinary playwright in general practice. I am a specialist in immoral and heretical plays. My reputation has been gained by my persistent struggle to force the public to reconsider its morals. In particular, I regard much current morality as to economic and sexual relations as disastrously wrong ; and I regard certain doctrines of the Christian religion as understood in England to-day with abhorrence. I write plays with the deliberate object of converting the nation to my opinion in these matters.

No one took the campaign seriously. On the contrary Shaw got a reputation as a humourist throughout the world by dressing the same statement up in various guises such as : " I am so thorough an Irish Protestant myself that I have all my life scandalised the Irish Protestant clergy, and made the Irish priests chuckle, by declaring that a Protestant church is a contradiction in terms. The true Protestant is a mystic not an Institutionalist."

The difficulty of the Protestant Mystic was to cut loose from the Christian part of his Protestantism and from the Material part of his Mysticism without giving too much offence to his audience, some of whom

were Christian and others Materialist. He usually succeeded in aggravating both parties. Mr. Strauss, for instance, finds it hard to be patient with him for occasional lapses from uncompromising Marxism, but that is because he is viewing the conflict as one between Art and Socialism. The real conflict is between Christianity and Materialism.

The hard core of the drive for the religion of the twentieth century is opposition to man's faith in his Creator. The opposition is not, however, purely negative. A substitute is offered in the shape of creative Forces which are said to produce all those effects which were formerly called creatures. Shaw's campaign is not so much on behalf of Socialism as on behalf of the Forces. " The universe," says Shaw, " is visibly making itself as it goes along, whereas a maker for it is hypothesis." His view is that it makes itself by its own efforts and the efforts of its output—animate and inanimate—to date. *According to this view there is in the world but one reality, matter, the blind forces of which evolve into plant, animal and man. Human society is nothing but a kind of matter evolving in the same way. By an inexorable law and through perpetual conflict of forces matter moves towards its final synthesis of a classless society.* That is Shaw's creed, unless that he does not seem to accept the ultimate postulate. He is not sure of the goal, for he knows that blind forces cannot have a goal, but he is certain that his role is to help them. It is, he says, a mystical role and his prophesying has therefore an occult quality. To exercise the gift of prophetic utterance and to propitiate the blind forces it is necessary for their instrument to accept their promptings by becoming, as it were, limp in their hands. The prophet who wishes to transmit a revelation must not allow his reason to cramp the action of the inspiring forces which approach the surface through his subconscious self—he must become, as far as possible, a human planchette. The forces are then in a position to make their impress on living matter, which alone can make their message accessible to humanity. When the instrument on which the inspiring forces play is specially sensitive and responsive its work is regarded, by those who hold these views, as *creative activity*. They hold too that this activity is essentially religious and have named the religion Creative Evolution.

" Creative Evolution," said Shaw in 1921 " is already a religion, and is indeed now unmistakably the religion of the twentieth century . . . the genuinely scientific religion for which all wise men are now anxiously looking." He regards himself as one of the prophets of this religion, practically as its pioneer, and has set down his views on the working of the process of evolutionary inspiration very clearly in the preface to the Adventures of the Black Girl in her Search for God :—

I was inspired to write this tale when I was held up at Knysna for five weeks in the African summer and English winter of 1932. My intention was to write a play

in the ordinary course of my business as a playwright; but I found myself writing the story of the black girl instead. And now the story being written, I proceed to speculate on what it means, though I cannot too often repeat that I am as liable as anyone else to err in my interpretation, and that pioneer writers, like other pioneers, often mistake their destination as Columbus did. That is how they sometimes run away in pious horror from the conclusions to which their revelations manifestly lead. I hold as firmly as St. Thomas Aquinas that all truths ancient and modern are divinely inspired. But I know by observation and introspection that the instrument on which the inspiring force plays may be a very faulty one.

The fact that the tale was written in Africa is of special interest. In Europe there were influences abroad unfavourable to the new religion and the activities of the inspiring forces: revelations could not be made openly, but had to be delivered in the form of plays in which the message lay below the surface. In Africa the atmosphere was less hostile to the delivery of mystic messages, and the revelation was made in more explicit terms. In Shaw's imagination the "creative force" appeared as a native girl walking through history smashing with her knobberry any belief of which she disapproved. These beliefs, as presented figuratively in the tale, are various, but special attention is reserved for attack on the Christian faith.

Shaw, rousing himself out of his trance, as it were, tries to interpret his vision in the preface which opens as above. The preface is really a sermon—a vigorous appeal to all and sundry to abandon their old beliefs, as they would throw out dirty water, and accept the fresh water of a pure religion. The planter's son reverts to type and proceeds to preach—to tell us what we are to believe and how we are to behave. His discourse is mainly concerned with the Bible and, underneath the easy coaxing style, is intensely dogmatic:—

> I venture to suggest that we neither leave the Bible in the clouds nor attempt the impossible task of suppressing it. Why not simply bring it down to the ground and take it for what it really is? . . . Why not boot it into the dustbin as the Soviet has done? Well, there is a *prima facie* case to be made out for that. Let us first do justice to it. What about the tables of the law? What about the ten commandments? They did not suffice even for the wandering desert tribe upon whom they were imposed by Moses, who, like Mahomet later on, could get them respected only by pretending that they were supernaturally revealed to him . . . the tradition of a blood sacrifice whereby the vengeance of a terribly angry God can be bought off by a vicarious and hideously cruel blood sacrifice persists even through the New Testament, when it attaches itself to the torture and execution of Jesus by the Roman Governor of Jerusalem. . . .
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> Hence the Bible, scientifically obsolete in all other respects, remains interesting as a record. . . . The Bible presents us with a succession of gods each being a striking improvement on the previous one. . . . The God of Noah is not the God of Job. . . . People who cannot see the difference between these two Gods cannot pass the most elementary test of intelligence. . . . Later on comes Jesus, who dares a further flight. . . . Jesus could be reproached for having chosen his disciples very unwisely if we could believe he had any real choice. . . . Most

unfortunately the death of Jesus helped to vulgarise his reputation and obscure his doctrine. . . .

The same spirit is at work here as with Calvin and with Ussher. Shaw, like his prototypes, takes on himself the mission of expounding Scripture and elucidating Christian doctrine. Though they, to do them justice, did not resort to voodoo and automatic writing. He continues his interpretation :—

The case was further complicated by the pitiable fact that Jesus himself, shaken by the despair which unsettled the reason of Swift and Ruskin and many others at the spectacle of human cruelty, injustice, misery, folly, and apparently hopeless political incapacity, and perhaps also by the worship of his disciples and the multitude, had allowed Peter to persuade him that he was the Messiah, and that death could not prevail against him nor prevent his returning to judge the world and establish his reign on earth for ever and ever. As this delusion came as easily within the mental range of his disciples as his social doctrine had been far over their heads, " Crosstianity " became established on the authority of Jesus himself. . . . And now I think the adventures of the black girl as revealed to me need no longer puzzle any one.

It was an extraordinary sermon . . . and yet not so very extraordinary after all. The forces behind it are essentially the same as those behind the Shaws who came, such a short time ago, to plant the religion of the seventeenth century in Kilkenny. To the native who has been watching the planters' unfortunate children driven from one impossible position to another by those same forces there is nothing strange in these mystical Asiatic and African explorations, nor is there anything new in the assurance with which they present their revelations.

Yet withal there is about Shaw a curious artlessness—a simplicity—almost an innocence—as of a child playing with a rattlesnake. There is in him some saving grace, something utterly foreign to the creed he preaches. It is typical of him to go all the way with the Marxists and then to step back as they plunge into the ultimate inanity of a classless society, and it is like him to walk out on the forces of " creative evolution " just when he seems to have delivered himself into their hands. After a bout of prophecy on their behalf he will, on occasion, suddenly " come to " and turn on his prophetic self a douche of that terrible common sense with the devastating query : " Blind forces make mistakes, how do you know *you* are not a mistake ? "

J. P. Hackett

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part VII

HALY (HEALY), RICHARD, soldier. Son of John Haly of Ballyhaly, Co. Cork, and the Hon. Mary De Courcey (daughter of Lord Kinsale). Going to France, he entered Rothe's regiment of the Irish Brigade, fought at Fontenoy in 1745 and, two years later, at Lauffelt, where he was wounded. His elder brother, William, fell in for the family property at Ballyhaly, where he married Maria, daughter of The O'Grady of Kilballyowen, Co. Limerick. Two of their sons, Standish Patrice and Richard, entered the French service. The former became a cadet in Walsh's Irish regiment in 1771 and was promoted lieutenant in 1776 while Richard rose to the rank of major and became a chevalier of the Order of Saint Louis. Richard married Anastasia Navateur, belonging to a French aristocratic family settled at Abscon in Flanders. By her he had several sons and daughters who also married into the French nobility. He died in 1816 at his château of Tomaserie near Amboise in his eighty-sixth year. Two of his sons, Richard and William, who were officers in Walsh's regiment at the outbreak of the Revolution, came to the ancestral home in Ireland on the dissolution of the Irish Brigade in 1791. One of his sisters, Anastasia, married John Augustus O'Byrne, an opulent wine merchant of Bordeaux, while another, Elizabeth, married Charles Lucas the famous Dublin politician (1713–1771). Descendants of the latter in the maternal line still reside at Bordeaux.

A member of this family—Stanislaus O'Haly—acquired some repute as a writer in France in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Among other works he was author of (1) " La Mort de Sapor—poèmes " (Paris 1805); (2) " La Chute de Carthage—poème en 8 chants " (Paris 1818); (3) " Les Médecins—comédie satirique " (Paris 1821); (4) " Le Sphinx arabe " (Marseille 1824).

HAMILTON, ANTONY (COUNT), soldier and writer. Born at Roscrea, Co. Tipperary in 1646. Son of Sir George Hamilton and Lady Mary Butler of the House of Ormond. At the age of six he accompanied his parents to Caen in France, where they settled, and practically his entire life was lived in that country. He was reared in the Catholic religion, which was the religion of his parents, and he adhered to it till his death. With three of his brothers he entered the French army, but came to Ireland after the restoration of Charles II. On account of his religion he remained,

however, without employment till the accession of James II, when he became an officer in the Irish army. After the Jacobite overthrow he returned to France, where his sister Elizabeth (" La belle Hamilton "), famous for her beauty, was married to the Count de Grammont and where she was a notable figure at the court of Louis XIV. Resuming his life in the French army with the rank of colonel, he began in 1704 to write the memoirs of his brother-in-law, which were published in 1713 under the title of " Mémoires de la vie du Comte de Grammont ". This work has been described as the truest specimen of French gaiety and as a monument to the integrity and unassuming virtues of its amiable author. Antony Hamilton lived most of his life at Saint Germain-en-Laye, where he was on terms of particular friendship with the Duchess of Berwick and her sister Lady Clare, wife of Viscount Charles O'Brien. In that town of expatriated Irishmen he died on 21 April 1719 in his seventy-fourth year. Among his other works, besides the " Mémoires ", were " Oeuvres diverses en vers et en prose " and " De l'Usage de la Vie dans le Vieillesse.".

HAMILTON, GEORGE (COUNT), soldier. Brother of preceding. As a youth he was a page to Charles II during that king's exile, and after the Restoration was an officer of the Horse Guards till 1667. In that year Whig intrigues compelled him, on account of his religion, to seek his fortune in France where, entering the army, he got command of a regiment with the rank of " maréchal de camp " and in the following year was knighted by Louis XIV. A brilliant military career followed. With his corps he went through the campaigns of 1673 and 1674 in Holland and Germany where, under Marshal Turenne, he distinguished himself at the battles of Sentsheim and Entsheim. In 1675, when Turenne fell by a cannon ball in his last campaign, the French army was saved from complete destruction by the gallantry and courage of Hamilton. In 1676, while serving under Marshal de Luxembourg, he was killed at the battle of Saverne. His wife was the beautiful Frances Jennings, who after his death married the Duke of Tyrconnell.

George Hamilton's brother, Richard, was also an officer in the French army, in which, several years before the Jacobite war in Ireland, he won high repute in the regiment of Royal Roussillion. From the court of Versailles, where he was a shining figure, he was banished by Louis XIV on account of an intrigue he carried on with the Princess de Conti, a natural daughter of the king, who was the wife of a legitimate prince of the House of Bourbon. Going to Ireland, he fought in the Jacobite campaign, was captured and imprisoned in the Tower of London. In 1692 he returned to France, where he lived much with the illustrious Cardinal de Bouillon, who was the great protector of the Irish in that country. Resuming his military life, he went through various campaigns with the rank of lieutenant-general. He died in December 1717.

HAMILTON, JOHN, sea captain. Born at Dublin in 1741. While residing at Paris, he was arrested as a spy during the revolutionary period. He was brought before the Criminal Tribunal of Paris on 28 June 1792, when it was shown that he had rented a shop apparently for business purposes but really for espionage. Attached to the writ of indictment against him was a letter from Santerre, Commandant-General of the National Guard, stating that he knew Hamilton only for a few days and could not speak for him. He was sent to the Abbaye prison and subsequently, on being found guilty, was sentenced to eight years imprisonment.

HARTY, OLIVER (BARON DE PIERREBOURG), soldier. Born at Knockany, Knocklong, Co. Limerick on 2 December 1746, he was the son of John Harty and Margaret Shee. Emigrating to France, he entered Berwick's Irish regiment as a cadet in his sixteenth year—three of his maternal uncles were at the time officers in the Irish Brigade. As a young man he served in the Isles de France and Bourbon, and two years before the outbreak of the Revolution was, when captain of grenadiers, decorated by Louis XVI with the Order of Saint Louis. When the Irish Brigade was dissolved in 1791 owing to a re-constitution of the army, he remained in France, unlike many of his fellowcountrymen, and became colonel of the 88th regiment (formerly Berwick's). He had been captain of Berwick's, and when that corps, under the influence of its colonel, Bartholomew O'Mahony, was about to desert France to join the Royalists beyond the Rhine, Harty addressed it and called on its officers and men to stand by their adopted country. As a result, only a small number seceded. Like many other gallant officers in France at the time, he was suspended from the army in 1793 as a foreigner and imprisoned for seventy days. As he was about to leave France he was captured by the English and conveyed to the Bermudas, from which he escaped and returned to France.

In 1795 the Committee of Public Safety restored Harty to his former military rank, and in 1796 he was entrusted with the preparation and organisation of the " Brigade Etrangère " (composed of the regiments of O'Meara, Lee, etc.) that formed part of the expeditionary army which set out with Hoche and Tone for Ireland at the end of that year. There are numerous letters to him from Hoche in the French archives before the sailing of the ill-fated armada—his vessel was one of those that reached Bantry Bay. After the failure of the Irish enterprise, he was employed in the 15th military Division against the Chouans in 1799 and 1800, and he helped in a large way to carry that campaign to its success. He was in command of the province of Morbihan in Brittany, and with 800 republican troops won a striking victory over 8,000 insurgents under Cadoudal on 25 January 1800. In 1805 he acted for a short time as Inspector-General of the Irish Legion, which was mobilised near the coast of Brest, awaiting orders to join in the expected expedition to Ireland. Later he went through

the Napoleonic campaigns with much distinction and, during his command of the district of Munster in Westphalia, often entertained his countrymen of the Irish Legion at his headquarters. On 30 June 1811 he was, for his high repute and gallantry, created Baron de Pierrebourg (Alsace) by Napoleon—an honour which was confirmed by Louis XVIII after the Bourbon restoration. After a strenuous military career extending over fifty years, he retired from active service on 1 May 1814 with the rank of Lieutenant-General and with many honours. He died at Strasbourg on 2 January 1823.

By his marriage with Anne Marie de Grenveld Harty had two sons and a daughter. His great-grandson, Baron Patrice Harty de Pierrebourg, has been for some time engaged in writing a biography of this illustrious Irish soldier, whose portrait decorates the family salon in Paris.

HAY, JOHN, soldier. Son of Harvey Hay, Ballinkeel Castle, Co. Wexford, scion of an ancient Catholic family of that county. Educated in France, John Hay became an officer in Dillon's regiment. The " Etat militaire de France " for 1787 lists him as second-lieutenant in that year. On the dissolution of the Irish Brigade as a separate unit in 1791 and its incorporation in the general French army he returned to Ireland, where he lived in comparative retirement till the outbreak of the insurrection in 1798. By reason of his military training in France he was placed in nominal command of the insurgent forces at Vinegar Hill. He was later arrested by the English authorities and executed.

A hundred years previously, after the Williamite confiscations, a member of his family settled at Nantes. The registers of that city contain several entries of the name. Thus on 15 November 1735 the baptism is recorded of " Anne-Lucie Hay, daughter of William Hay (Seigneur of Hill-de-Slade and of Ville-de-Hay, Ireland) and Sophie Butler de Galmoy ". A document among the papers of the family tells of this settlement at Nantes where, it states, " the family was ennobled among the nobility of the province and on all occasions took their seats in the Chamber of the nobles on the assembly of the states of Brittany. On the occasion of the appointment of Noel Hay as captain of the guard to the Comte de Provence, subsequently Louis XVIII, an application was made to the parent stock of his family at Ballinkeel for the necessary proofs to enable him to take possession of his employment . . . This was carried out, and Mr. Noel Hay, captain of the guard to the Comte de Provence, claimed and enjoyed the privilege of riding in the king's coach ". The family is at present represented in Brittany by Count Hay de Slade.

HEGARTY (O'HEGARTY), DANIEL, soldier. He belonged to the family of his name, whose property at Brookhall (anciently called Clainsuillagh), Co. Donegal, was confiscated in 1691. A captain in Colonel

Charles O'Neil's Irish regiment in the Jacobite war, he went to France after the attainder of his family and became an officer in Dillon's regiment of the Irish Brigade. After retiring from active military service, he settled at Dinan in Brittany and, later, at Nancy in Lorraine, where in 1728 he obtained a " declaration of noblesse ". (Ruvigny's " Jacobite Peerage "). He married Grace Mulvany, by whom he had four sons, Peter, Dominick, Patrick and Francis, all of whom became officers in the Irish Brigade.

A namesake and kinsman—Daniel Hegarty—was established in the early eighteenth century as a shipowner at Dunkirk. He was a zealous Jacobite and was associated with the English Catholic peer, Lord Derwentwater, in founding in 1721 at Dunkirk the first civil masonic lodge in France. Four years later they established a similar one at Paris, and subsequently at Nantes, Bordeaux, &c. These lodges were independent foundations and were largely composed of Irish Jacobite exiles, their main object being the restoration of the Stuarts. With his friend and countryman, Antony Walsh of Nantes, Hegarty was one of the chief agents entrusted with the task of making preparations for the expedition to Scotland in 1745. Both before and after that enterprise he figures frequently as ' Desborough ' in the secret correspondence of James III and Prince Charles Edward.

Hegarty (O'Hegarty), Patrick, ecclesiastic. Brother of preceding, he was born in Donegal and went to France where he studied at the Convent of Saint Honoré in Paris, whence he returned to Ireland and became Dominican prior at Dublin. After the Jacobite defeat in 1691 he accompanied a regiment of the Irish Brigade to France as one of its chaplains. Subsequent to the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, when the number of Irish regiments in the French service was reduced in number, he was appointed curate in the parish of Trelon in the diocese of Soissons. In the year 1704 he went to the town of Saint Malo to transact business and, fatigued after the long journey, was stricken with fever from which he died in eight days.

Hegarty (O'Hegarty), Patrick (Count), soldier and courtier. During the reign of Louis XVI he was Master of the Horse to the Count d'Artois, the king's brother and later Charles X of France. He was, with his wife, a notable figure at the court of Versailles—the Countess Hegarty was reputed to be, after her friend the Countess de Genlis, the finest harpist in France. Strong Royalists, they left the French capital in the early years of the Revolution and settled in Dublin, where they lived in straitened circumstances. " They escaped from France ", wrote their friend Lady Morgan at the time, " with life and honour and nothing more, earning their bread and supporting their family in Dublin by the exertion of those beautiful talents which were once the delight of the court and the best circles in Paris ". They depended in Ireland for their livelihood on giving

music lessons. Count Hegarty returned to France after the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815 and, resuming his military life in that country, became a lieutenant-colonel in the king's bodyguard. Later in the reign of Charles X he was appointed equerry to the Count de Chambord the king's son. A relative, Viscount Henry O'Hegarty, an officer in the French service, wrote " Histoire générale, anecdotique et pittoresque de la guerre d'Italie " (Paris 1859).

Hegarty (O'Hegarty), Pierre Andre, administrator, economist and writer. Third son of Daniel Hegarty (*see* above) and Grace Mulvany, he was born on 30 September 1700 at Dinan in Lower Brittany, where his father had settled. He received his education in the Jesuit college at Caen, completing his course in philosophy before he was fourteen years old. Loyal to the Jacobite traditions of his family, he joined as a volunteer the little expeditionary force that left France for Scotland in 1715 to place James III on the throne. After its defeat he returned to Caen to pursue a course of law, and in 1718 was admitted as a lawyer to the parliament of Normandy and achieved considerable success at the bar. The interest which Cardinal de Fleury and Philibert Orry, comptroller of finance, always showed in his family, was instrumental in procuring for him the position of attorney-general to the supreme council of the Ile Bourbon, as well as police judge there. He set out on 31 March 1733 for that colony, where he soon rose in high esteem through the wisdom of his views and the spirit of justice and impartiality which he showed in discharging his duties. The " Compagnie des Indes ", appreciating his rare qualities, sought and obtained for him in 1741 the post of president of the supreme council of the island as well as governor-general of its civil administration. Having purchased there large tracts of waste land, he succeeded in making them productive by planting them with coffee trees, while a marriage which he had contracted in 1738 with Marie de Verdière, who was related to the chief families of Brittany, helped to increase his fortune. His position in the Ile Bourbon enabled him to collect a considerable mass of documents regarding navigation and maritime commerce, which he utilised later in publishing several interesting works on these subjects.

Recalled to France in 1745, Hegarty settled in Paris but, after his wife's death, went to his father's estate at Magnières near Luneville in Lorraine. King Stanislaus, who had just then founded the Academy of Science and Belles-lettres at Nancy, appointed him royal censor, and Hegarty became an active member of the Academy, writing much for it on scientific and social subjects. He died at Plombières on 12 January 1763. Among his published works are (1) " Essai sur les intérêts du commerce " (La Haye 1754) and (2) " Remarques sur plusieurs branches de commerce et de navigation " (s.l. 1757). His descendants still reside at Magnières.

His elder brother, Dominick, was born at Saint Germain-en-Laye on

18 April 1699. (His baptismal name was Denis). Intended for a military career, he served for a short time in Dillon's Irish regiment. His tastes, however, were for an agricultural and studious life, and he purchased an estate near Luneville in Lorraine from which he took his title of Comte de Magnières. There he wrote several memoirs on methods of improving agricultural conditions in eastern France, and advocated reforms which other French provinces had adopted. He was interested in literature also, and carried on a long correspondence with the celebrated abbé Raynal. He died in 1790. He was author of (1) " De la nature des biens des anciens Romains " (Paris 1769), (2) " Essai sur la vie de Pline-le-jeune ", and other works. Several relatives had gallant records in the Irish Brigade in the French service. In 1745 Captain Hegarty of Dillon's regiment and Lieutenant-Colonel Hegarty of Lally's were wounded at Fontenoy, while at Lauffelt two years later the latter was killed and Captain Hegarty of Berwick's was wounded.

Hely (O'Hely), Peter, Irish Jacobite exile, who followed James II to France after the capitulation of Limerick in 1691. In 1714 he was appointed consul to the Canary Islands by the French Government. settling in Normandy, he founded a family which, up to the present day, has played a prominent part in the political and commercial life of France. After his death in 1756 his son and namesake became seigneur of Oissel near Rouen, whence his family took the name (Hely d'Oissel) by which it has since then been generally known. One of its most prominent members was Abdon-Frederick (born in 1777), on whom Napoleon conferred the title of Baron in 1810. In 1819 he was Minister of Public Instruction, and as such was president of a Commission (composed of Irishmen like Lally Tollendal, Count O'Mahony &c) established to superintend the affairs of the Irish College at Paris. The notorious Irish ex-priest Richard Ferris was its superior at the time, and his arrogance on one occasion so annoyed Hely d'Oissel that he taunted Ferris in words which the latter considered insulting. Subsequently Ferris challenged the Minister to a duel, calling him " a mongrel who was only Irish by his father's side ". The Minister's reply was an order dismissing Ferris from the post of superior and directing him to leave Paris. Hely d'Oissel was a Deputy (1827 to 1833), a Counsellor of State and a Commander of the Legion of Honour. He died in January 1833. The family still resides on the estate of its Irish progenitor in Normandy and ranks in the nobility of that province.

Henegan, David, ecclesiastic. He was born at Cork in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Educated in Paris at the Irish college and at the Sorbonne, where he obtained his doctorate, he became provisor for the province of Munster in the Collège des Lombards in 1762. He was a facile writer of French and contributed a number of Irish biographies

and articles of Irish interest to the " Dictionnaire de Moreri "—an important work which was published in Paris in 1759. He was proficient too, in the Irish language, as is evidenced by the fact that he examined and certified for publication Dr. John O'Brien's " Focalóir " (Anglo-Irish Dictionary), which appeared in the French capital in 1768. Shortly before his death he founded (May 1774) a burse in the Collège des Lombards for the education of one student of the diocese of Cork with preference for a relative of the donor.

HENNESSY, JOHN, soldier. A native of Kilkenny, he was a relative of the family of Shee (O'Shee) of that county, so many of whom rose to high rank in the French service. Entering Bulkeley's regiment of the Irish Brigade, he held the rank of captain in that corps at the battles of Fontenoy (1745) and of Lauffelt (1747), after which he was promoted to that of lieutenant-colonel. On retiring from active military service, he returned to Ireland and is buried in the graveyard of Derrynahinch, Co. Kilkenny.

A relative, Colonel Hennessy of Lee's Irish regiment, was a notable soldier in France about the same period. He came into some prominence in 1731 in connection with the case of an Irish soldier of his regiment who killed a comrade and took sanctuary in the church of the Capuchins at St. Omer. The incident led to correspondence between the colonel and the court at Versailles, and the king issued an order that for the future religious houses were not to shelter foreign soldiers under such circumstances. Colonel Hennessy was probably the Irish officer of the name who came to Ireland from France in 1730 to raise recruits for the French service. He actually had a letter from the English Prime Minister to Primate Boulter in Dublin recommending his mission—the English government would seem to have as its object the depletion of Ireland of young men who, under particular circumstances, might at home be a danger to its authority. When the Opposition in England discovered the Prime Minister's action, a violent explosion of public opinion occurred in that country—so much so that it was thought advisable to recall Hennessy immediately.

HENNESSY, RICHARD, soldier and distiller. Son of James Hennessy and Helen Nagle, he was born in 1720 at Ballymacmoy, Killavullen, Co. Cork (where his relatives still reside). In 1740 he went to France, several members of the family having already settled there since the dispersal of 1691. He became an officer of Dillon's regiment, and in that corps fought at Dettingen (1743), at Fontenoy (1745) and at other battles of the War of the Austrian Succession. After being wounded he retired from military service, and in 1763 married his cousin Ellen, widow of James Hennessy of Brussels and cousin of the illustrious statesman Edmund Burke. James Roche, with whom he was acquainted, has an interesting reference to him in " Essays of an Octogenarian "—he states in that book

that, at the period of the battle of Fontenoy, Irish was generally spoken in the Irish regiments in France, and that Richard Hennessy assured him that it was there he learned the language. Two years after his marriage he settled in Cognac in the department of Charente-Inférieure, and established the famous distillery which still bears his name. He died in 1800, leaving a son James who was born at Brussels on 11 October 1765, a few days before his parents set out for Cognac.

Like his father, James Hennessy served for some time in Dillon's regiment, and later joined him as a partner in the commercial enterprise. He was elected representative for La Charente in the chamber of deputies and functioned as such till his death. He married Martha, daughter of M. Martell, one of the deputies for Libourne. He died on 22 April 1843, leaving a son and namesake, James Hennessy of La Billarderie (Cognac), who was born in 1795 and married Sophia, daughter of Baron de Marcuil, French ambassador to various foreign courts. Their grandson, Jean Patrice of Château de St. Brice, who was elected deputy for Barbezieux (Charente) in 1910, was married to Marguerite, daughter of Count de Mun, member of the French Academy. The Hennessy family are still prominent in the political life of France—e.g., M. Jean Hennessy, a recent Minister of Agriculture as well as ambassador of France in Switzerland, was one of three candidates for the Presidency of the French Republic in 1931. (It is of interest to note that the second of the three candidates at the time was also of Irish descent, viz. M. Aristide Briand whose great-grandfather, Conell O'Brien, came from Ireland as overseer of a flax-bleaching house in Finisterre and later settled at Nantes with his family).

Unlike many other foreigners the Hennessy family remained in France during the Revolution of 1789. One of the name was imprisoned at Bordeaux at the time, as may be seen in the following extract from that city's municipal archives: " 12 March 1798. The central bureau of the municipality orders that Nicholas Hennessy, native of Ireland, imprisoned in the Orphelins, be released, having given proof that he has lived in France for fifty years, that he has served in Clare's Irish regiment and now resides at Cognac ".

Hensey (Henchy), Florence, physician and secret agent. Born at Kildare in 1715, he was the son of Florence Hensey or Henchy of Ballycumeen, Co. Clare. On 18 October 1748 he entered the university of Leyden as a student of medicine and graduated there as M.D. He settled in Paris, where he practised as a physician for some years. On the outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1756 he became a secret agent of the French government and, having moved to London, arranged for one hundred guineas a year to furnish military and naval information to France. He conveyed this in ordinary letters in ink, between each of whose lines

were the secrets written in lemon juice. He carried on his correspondence through his brother who was chaplain to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague. An early result of his work was in 1757 when his information led to the failure of a proposed English expedition against the French port of Rochefort.

Hensey's frequent foreign correspondence aroused the suspicions of a postman and, on his letters being stopped and opened, evidence was found in them which led to his arrest on 21 August 1757 as he was leaving the Catholic Church in Soho Square in London. After several private examinations before the Secretary of State, he was committed to Newgate prison on 9 March 1758. (The Chichester MSS. in the appendix to the 3rd Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission has the following reference to him: "1758. Examination of Dr. Hensey about Count Gisors and La Ponce, his secretary, touching plot for the conquest of Ireland by the French"). On 8 May 1758 he was brought before the King's Bench, and on 12 June the evidence at his trial was so strong against him that he was condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered. On the day before that fixed for his execution a respite was granted and, a few months later, he was allowed out on bail. Eventually he received the royal pardon and was expatriated. In 1758 two brochures bearing on his career were published in London: (1) "A genuine account of the proceedings on the trial of Florence Hensey M.D."; (2) "Genuine Memoirs of the Life and Treasonable Practices of Florence Hensey".

Herron (O'Herron), John, soldier. Born in Wexford in 1797. His father, John Herron, was hanged as an insurgent leader by the English authorities in 1798. Soon afterwards his mother married a brother-in-law of Count Sutton de Clonard. The Count belonged to an old Wexford family which had settled at Bordeaux, but was compelled to leave France during the Revolution and, returning to Ireland, settled in the ancestral home in Wexford. When the revolutionary troubles subsided, the Count, having regained his estate near Bordeaux, went back to France, taking with him his young relative John Herron. The latter obtained a commission in the French army, in which he rapidly rose to high rank. In 1830 he particularly distinguished himself during the war in Algiers. In 1848 he was one of the twelve colonels who went to the palace of the Tuileries and warned the king (Louis Philippe) that, unless big reforms in administration as well as a change of ministry were granted, they would not answer for their men. In 1864 he re-visited his native town of Wexford. In Churchtown House, Rosslare, there is a picture entitled "Napoleon III and his generals"—O'Herron is on horseback beside the Emperor and two other generals. At this period he resided at Paris, where once a week he dined with the Emperor.

Hibernicus, Thomas (Thomas de Hibernia), writer and theologian. He was known also as " Palmeranus " from Palmerstown—the place near Naas, Co. Kildare, where he was born towards the close of the thirteenth century. He studied at Paris, where he became professor of theology and Fellow of the Sorbonne about 1306. Both the Dominican and Franciscan orders have claimed him as a member, but he did not belong to either. He has been described as " a deep Clerk and one that read much, as may be easily gathered from his learned works ", and again as one " with a great reputation for learning and piety ". Leaving France for Italy, he died in a monastery in 1316 and bequeathed his books and manuscripts to the Sorbonne as well as six pounds to buy a rent to be employed in celebrating his anniversary. His name is mentioned seven times in the Sorbonne " Catalogue " of 1338, and some of his manuscript writings are in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Among his works are (1) " Tabula originalium sive Manipulus Florum " (copies of which exist in many French, English and Italian libraries; it was printed in various continental cities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries); (2) " Tractatus de tribus punctis christianae religionis "; (3) " De illusionibus daemonum "; (4) " Commendatio theologica ".

Hiffernan (Heffernan), Paul, physician and dramatist. Born in 1719 in Co. Dublin he went, like many other Catholic young men of the period, to France for his education. He entered the university of Montpellier and, in its famous medical school, graduated in medicine—in later life he always signed himself as " Paul Hiffernan M.D. ". At the university he became acquainted with Rousseau, Marmontel and other notabilities, and in his mature years used to tell interesting stories of them. Leaving Montpellier he settled in Paris and, altogether, lived in France for seventeen years. About the middle of the eighteenth century he returned to Dublin where, with his French conversation and French manners, he was a notable figure. In the Irish capital, too, he became a popular pamphleteer on political topics and a translator of French works for the booksellers. After some years he left Dublin for London and wrote there a number of dramatic pieces for the theatre. He died in poor circumstances on 12 June 1777.

Higgins, Sir John, physician. Son of Dr. Patrick Higgins and Mary Loftus, he was born at Limerick in 1676. After the final defeat of the Jacobite army and the capitulation of his native city in 1691, he went as a boy to Paris where his mother's relative, Edmund Loftus, was a banker at the time. Educated at the French university of Montpellier, he graduated in medicine at its famous medical school in 1700. After his qualification as a doctor the long War of the Spanish Succession began, and a great soldier of the day, the Duke of Berwick, who was Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies of France and Spain, induced him to accept the post

of principal medical officer of the united forces. In that capacity he took part in the great battles and sieges of the eleven years' conflict, in which the various regiments of the Irish Brigade in the French service played a leading role. His future career, after leaving the army, lay in Spain where he became physician to Philip V and was knighted by James III. Full of honours and renown, he died at Seville on 11 October 1729. He married Jeanne de Courtade, daughter of a French physician practising in Bayonne in south-western France, whom he met while on a visit to that town in 1712.

HOOKE, LUKE JOSEPH, ecclesiastic. Born in Dublin in 1716. Son of Nathaniel Hooke (author of a " History of Rome "), he was educated in Paris at the seminary of St. Nicholas-du-Chardonnet—an institution where, at that period, a certain number of young Irishmen received an ecclesiastical training. Later he went to the Sorbonne and, after obtaining his doctorate, was appointed royal professor of theology there in 1750. In the following year he presided at the famous thesis of the abbé de Prades. The public discussion which followed this thesis proved that it contained a number of heretical propositions, and the abbé Hooke, having committed the mistake of signing it without examining its contents, was as a consequence dismissed from the chair of theology, though he admitted his negligence and denounced the irreligious principles of the abbé de Prades.

On 9 May 1752 Cardinal Tencin, provisor of the Sorbonne, obtained against Hooke a " lettre-de-cachet ", which declared the chair of theology vacant and requested the Sorbonne to replace him immediately. The prior and professors of the Collège de Navarre entered into the dispute in favour of Hooke and succeeded in obtaining the revocation of the " lettre-de-cachet ". In 1754 he was elected, by a majority of one vote, to one of the vacant chairs of theology, but the archbishop of Paris forbade young seminarists to attend his lectures. In 1762 the parliament of Paris, too, intervened on his behalf and passed a decree maintaining him in possession of his chair. Hooke replied to the ban on his lectures by a letter (containing 72 pages of documents) addressed to the archbishop, in which he complained, with much dignity and moderation, of a persecution that was entirely unjustified. The dispute lasted till 1764, when he resigned the chair of theology and accepted that of Hebrew.

In 1769 Hooke was appointed librarian of the Bibliothèque Mazarine, a post which he held till 1791. Loyal to the papal decree, he refused to take the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and was dismissed from his post. He refused to retire, however, declaring to the revolutionary authorities that his was an office not amenable to the oath. After standing a sort of seige, he finally capitulated and retired to Saint-Cloud, where he died on 16 April 1796. Among his published works are : (1) " Religionis naturalis, revelatae et catholicae principia in usum Academiae juventutis " (Paris 1754). (2) " Discours et Réflexions critiques sur l'histoire et le

gouvernement de l'ancienne Rome" (Paris 1771–1784). (3) "Principe sur la nature et l'essence du pouvoir d'Eglise" (Paris 1791). He also edited the "Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick" (Paris 1778).

HOOKE, NATHANIEL (BARON DE HOOKE), soldier and diplomatist. Grand-uncle of preceding and son of John Hooke, a merchant of Drogheda. Born at Corballis, Co. Meath in 1664. He entered Trinity College in 1679, left soon afterwards, became an enthusiastic Jacobite and reverted to Catholicism, the religion of his immediate forbears. He fought at the Boyne and, going to France after the capitulation of Limerick, entered the French service in the Irish regiment of Galmoy. Between the years 1703 and 1705 he submitted to the Council of Louis XIV several schemes which advocated a debarkation of French troops in Scotland, and in 1705 and again in 1707 he went, at the request of James III and with the consent of Louis XIV, on a secret mission to the Jacobites of that country. In 1708 he accompanied the expedition from France to Scotland. On its failure to land there he resumed his military life in the French service and fought at the battles of Oudenarde and Malplaquet. In 1710 he acted as plenipotentiary for James III at the negotiations in Holland for a general peace, and in the following year went to Dresden on a diplomatic mission from Louis XIV to the king of Poland. Returning once more to the military service of his adopted country, he served for some time in the Flanders campaign. He took no active part in the Jacobite expedition to Scotland in 1715. In that year he was in communication with Stair the British ambassador in Paris, and his enemies charged him accordingly with being a traitor to the cause of the Stuarts. The truth, however, seems to be that, in his relations with Stair, he was a Jacobite spy. There are many references to his activities and some unfavourable criticisms of his character from personal enemies in the Stuart MSS. He died at Paris on 25 October 1738 in his seventy-fifth year.

In 1704 Hooke married Eleanor MacCarthy Reagh, lady-in-waiting to the exiled Queen Mary of Módena. They had one son, born at Saint Germain-en-Laye on 15 December 1705, for whom James III acted as god-father. He became an officer of the Irish Brigade and died in 1741 on the field of battle.

Another branch of the Hooke family settled in the French colony of Martinique after being dispossessed of their estates in Ireland during the Cromwellian confiscations. In Martinique they ranked among the nobility of that island, and several of them became officers of the Irish regiments in France. There is a number of letters dealing with the family history of this branch of the family among the manuscripts of the R.I.Academy (24D9).

RICHARD HAYES

TRADITION IN ARCHITECTURE

BY JOSEPH V. DOWNES, B.ARCH., F.R.I.A.I., F.R.I.B.A.

THE styles by which present-day Irish architecture is represented are usually classified as traditional and modern. The first category includes the Greek, Roman, Early Christian, Byzantine, Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance; the second includes the modern style alone. The eclectic, of course, will not always recognise this classification. His attitude may be entirely impartial. Or he may regard buildings for certain purposes as suitable for modern treatment and others again as more appropriately attired in classical or mediaeval fashion. But this is not the general view. Eclecticism, as a rule, applies only to the so-called traditional styles, the assumption being that only by the adaptation of these particular styles to modern conditions can we obtain a satisfactory contemporary architecture. This view is disputed by the modernist, who holds that the same conditions can only be satisfied by a new style. As between these two points of view we have the main issue in the question of style in architecture in this country to-day.

As the traditionalists see it, the modern style is in the nature of a revolutionary rather than an evolutionary development. Preceded by no transitional phase or by any tangible link by which its connection with the past might be easily recognised, it seems to them to lack the continuity of earlier architectural history and therefore to be too modern to be healthy. As against this we are told that the classical and mediaeval styles, as revived, are traditional; that now they represent centuries of experience in architectural design and consequently that they derive from sources which cannot be ignored. We are reminded also that the revival movement is not a new one. It has been in existence for nearly a hundred years; and we are asked to accept by virtue of this, if by no other evidence, that it has established a claim by prescriptive right to be recognised as legitimate contemporary architecture.

From the point of view of art generally this attitude may seem natural enough. In painting and sculpture one might argue, practical difficulties apart, that tradition could be sustained or, if allowed to lapse, revived. Arts such as these, which are mainly aesthetic or decorative in function, have characteristics which can be preserved or discarded at will, and to this extent there is a traditional influence which, in theory at least, can be controlled. Architecture, however, is not one of these. It is in fact a very different case. Here we have an art not with one function but with two, and the question whether an architectural style can be arbitrarily revived or prolonged depends, in the first instance, on whether these two functions

are to be regarded as interdependent or not. The first function of architecture is the utilitarian, expressed in construction and planning; the second is the aesthetic, by which construction becomes architecture and a fine art. The primary question is whether style derives from structural form or from purely abstract considerations not related to material requirements. If building construction is to be regarded as the basis of architectural and artistic expression, there can obviously be no question of choice of style; but if construction and style are not so related, the traditionalists' theory of the adaptability of the old styles to modern conditions must be accepted.

The history of architecture as generally read, that is as a more or less simple chronological list of events, is not likely to assist us in choosing between these two conflicting theories. But as a study in cause and effect it indicates a certain consistency in the methods by which styles have been developed, and investigation of the process of style evolution from this rather more scientific angle will, it is suggested, raise some considerable doubt as to the propriety of re-using the older styles to-day.

As an example let us take the derivation of the Roman style. The beginning of the Roman classical period was influenced by the Greek tradition. Evidence is to be found in the smaller rectangular temple. This type of building corresponded, in planning requirements and construction, to the Greek prototype, and the retention of the Greek style thus far was not illogical. There were also other buildings of this period which, for similar reasons, retained this traditional character. But Roman architecture was not static and, as time went on and requirements became more complex, a need was felt for structures of a more elaborate nature than could be planned or built by the comparatively simple methods of the Greeks. Greater areas had to be roofed which could not be covered by the stone or timber beam method. The arch, vault and dome had now to be substituted; and these, with other radical departures from earlier methods of construction, resulted in corresponding alterations in the shape and form of the building itself and ultimately in a new architectural style.

Now the "difficulty" with which the Romans were faced when abandoning the Greek tradition is analogous with the problem of present-day style. The Romans, as we know, had every respect for Greek culture. But unlike our modern "traditionalists," they recognised its limitations where architecture was concerned. As the Romans interpreted it, the Greek style in architecture was not a formula to be applied regardless of the purpose for which it was originally intended. That is to say, it was not a pattern in masonry design to be used as a veneer over any and every form of construction. It was a method of architectural treatment applicable only to a given construction problem.

What the Romans really inherited from the Greeks and in turn bequeathed to posterity was, not their style but their *method* of design.

Like the Greeks they believed in a constant relationship between form and content in architecture. This had been evidenced in various ways in the Greek style. It was apparent in the temple. Here the chief features, both aesthetic and structural, were the roof, entablature and column. The slope or pitch of the roof was aesthetically suited to the general lines of the complete building, but this was not arbitrarily determined and was derived in the first instance from the nature of the material used and a commonsense regard for economy in its use. The marble entablature or lintol, also contributing to the beauty of the building, was likewise designed primarily for its utilitarian purpose, which was to support the roof; and similarly practical considerations determined the proportions of the columns and their distances apart. These three features were functional in the sense that, while suggesting a structural purpose by their shapes and forms, they were also *in fact* structural.

It was precisely because the Romans recognised this functional significance in the beam-and-column style that they were obliged to discard it when this significance could no longer be reasonably sustained. The substitution of the arch, vault and dome for the beam and column left them with two alternatives, which were either to superimpose the Greek style, as something in the nature of a camoflauge, on their own new forms of construction or to devise a new style which would give these forms functional expression. Their choice was to continue the functional method of design.

The nineteenth century corresponds to this period in so far as it also was accountable for various radical changes in construction methods. Corresponding to the Roman vault and dome we had now the steel or concrete framework on which the enveloping building might be supported. But here the similarity ceases, for whereas the Romans by means of the vault and dome produced a new style, the architects of the nineteenth century, because or in spite of their efforts in a parallel direction, did nothing of the kind. What the nineteenth century gave us, instead of a new style, was a resurrection of the styles of the past combined with a new system of construction. The resemblance of the styles thus revived to their classical and mediaeval models was superficially exact and apparently satisfactory to the materialistic but romantic age for which this kind of architecture was intended to cater. But the result was not architecture as it was understood in classical or mediaeval times, nor did it conform to any accepted theory of design prior to the end of the eighteenth century.

As an example of this phase we may take the case of the *revived* Greek style. The pattern of Greek architecture, we have noticed, was derived directly from the organic nature of the construction system with which it was associated in *Greek times*. Now, however, it had to be adapted to a form of construction never envisaged by the Greeks. The walls of the modern building to which the Greek style was applied were usually

nothing more than screens against external atmospheric conditions. They were no longer structural in the original Greek sense. They had not to support the building nor had they even to support themselves, since both these functions now belonged to the steel or concrete frame which they enclosed. But on the other hand, as they had to be designed in the old Greek fashion with heavy masonry and massive columns, the suggestion was obviously that these walls were still fulfilling the function of carrying the building. The result, a veneer architecture conveying an impression of solidity, might have resembled the original Greek in the sense that a painting might resemble its model; but it could not have the sincerity or the truly functional character of the Greek and, because of that, it was to lack the essence of the style by which it was supposed to be inspired.

Such was the Greek style as it re-emerged in the nineteenth century, and on the assumption, so readily accepted, that it could be successfully revived after a lapse of nearly two thousand years, it was only natural that attempts to revive other and even older styles should follow. But the process of artificial respiration by which these objectives were to be achieved was to prove a less simple business than anticipated.

The rectangular-frame form of construction was comparatively adaptable to the more or less corresponding straight lines of the classical stone facade or to the rectangular versions of the Gothic with which the traditionalists considered it should be decorated. This, however, was a particular form of modern construction, and it happened to be only the first stage in its development. Eventually there were the concrete elliptical arch and vault and the cantilever system to be reckoned with, and when the time came to choose a style which would adhere gracefully and with some apparent reason to this kind of structural background, the propriety of using the older styles was beginning to seem less obvious. The ellipse, which was now used vertically, had no affinity with the geometry of either classical or mediaeval forms and, although to encase it in some outer shell of different shape might still perhaps be physically possible, a certain incongruity in doing so was becoming manifest. This difficulty was even more obvious in the case of the cantilever roof which, needing actual support on one only of its four sides, would, if clothed in any old fashioned style, require either dummy columns or walls on the remaining sides.

The question of new materials, however, did not constitute the whole of this problem. Science had also been developing in other directions affecting construction and planning. The trial and error method of dealing with acoustics was becoming obsolete in the light of a better understanding of the nature of sound and its reactions when in contact with different materials. Calculations were now required which determined the shapes of buildings, and the results did not always accord with pre-conceived notions of design. In the case of air-conditioning—comprising the mechanical

control of heating, ventilation and atmospheric humidity—the effect on design could also be considerable, since with this form of equipment windows for ventilation and temperature-control might be useless. Artificial lighting again might be designed to suit a given building, but not infrequently greater efficiency might be obtained by designing the building itself to suit its lighting.

The ultimate reaction to this increasing difficulty of relating the antique to the modern as between style and construction was the birth of the " modern style." The circumstances were perhaps not altogether conducive to a proper appreciation of the significance of this event. The new style was not a gradual development from any previous one. It was a complete novelty in that respect and, of course, a thing quite apart from the " revived " styles. Nevertheless, for all that, it was a new style only in the sense that the Roman style was new when it was superseding the Greek or the Gothic when it was replacing the Romanesque. It did not represent a new theory of design. On the contrary, it was merely a reversion, not only to the methods of classical and mediaeval times but of all architecture of which we have record prior to the nineteenth century revival period.

To understand the connection between pre-nineteenth century architecture and this new style of to-day we must realise, in the first place, the extent to which the mechanical and industrial revolution had affected the technique of construction in the interval and, secondly, the almost complete lack at first of anything like a corresponding development in architectural design. In the absence of such a co-related development over so long a period it was only natural that, when the new construction technique did eventually find an aesthetic expression of its own, the process of co-relation should be more rapid and therefore perhaps less readily intelligible than if a transition period had intervened, such as marked the connection between the older styles. And in the absence of a transitional style it was only natural that hereditary features would not be conspicuous in the new one.

It may be argued at this stage that, if a case can be made for abandoning the " traditional " styles when modern methods of construction are involved, this need not apply where the older methods are still possible. This in fact is not an uncommon attitude, and the type of building to which the argument is usually meant to apply is the church. Most Irish churches of to-day are in the Romanesque style, not only designed as such architecturally but actually constructed in this early mediaeval fashion as well. They are functional according to the definition already given. Their main purpose, moreover, which is to enshrine the altar, has not changed since even early Christian times. Why then, it may be asked, should this type of building have to conform to any " new order " in architecture ?

The main purpose of the church building of course has not changed, and admittedly this purpose can be served at least equally well now by

continuing the traditional methods of planning and building. But that is not to say that certain secondary but none the less important functions can not now be better served by other means. The plan, for instance, which involves a nave with aisles and rows of columns between has been in use for centuries. It has provided accommodation for large congregations and is architecturally effective. But at the same time the columns in this kind of church have often been a hindrance to good acoustics and visibility, and we are entitled to ask how long this disability would have been tolerated if mediaeval construction had been less limited in its scope. To-day, as we can see in many countries abroad, it is possible to design a church in which every member of the congregation can see the altar and both see and hear the occupant of the pulpit. These facilities have been made possible by the freedom and elasticity of planning permitted by modern materials and methods of construction, and the cost (it may be added) of designing a church on these lines is not more and is often considerably less than if designed in any traditional manner.

If the advantages, generally speaking, of designing in the modern style be admitted, they would seem to apply equally to all classes of building and therefore to ecclesiastial no less than to civic, commercial or private architecture. This is merely to suggest that history must repeat itself and that tradition in this sense must be maintained—or perhaps, more correctly speaking, restored. Those who were responsible for the erection of the original Gothic cathedrals were not concerned with academic or sentimental discussions about tradition or the propriety of abandoning the preceding Romanesque style. What they were disposed to consider and what indeed they were acutely aware of was the need for a new church plan and the possibilities of meeting this need by the newly-invented pointed arch and ribbed vault. The adoption of this new method of construction did indeed eventually lead to what was perhaps the finest expression of the Christian ideal in architecture, but the genesis of that ideal was for the most part to be found in certain urgent considerations of a very practical and mundane nature. So also, when the Gothic perforce had yielded to the Renaissance and Michaelangelo was proposing to replace the basilican St. Peter's with the present cathedral, the Church did not dissent but was again prepared to recognise the inevitability of another re-orientation in architectural design.

One other aspect of this question may be noted. The modern church, it is said, is indistinguishable from other buildings in the same style and therefore lacks the particular ecclesiastical character of Mediaeval and Renaissance examples. This is a fairly common criticism, but it raises a psychological question only. The Gothic church of the Middle Ages (as distinct from that of the last century) was not distinguishable, in its purely architectural character, from other buildings of the period. The tower, spire, vaulting, window, and door which we associate with the

church, were also to be found simultaneously in various secular buildings of corresponding dimensions. The Palais de Justice at Rouen, the Hotel de Ville at Brussels, and the Halles and Belfry at Bruges, if we except the cross, have all the main external features of the contemporary church and do not differ from the latter any more than they differ from each other. But the Gothic style in recent years has been so exclusively used in church architecture that it has acquired here an imaginary ecclesiastical character which was never claimed by the age which gave it birth. The modern church can not differ from the town hall, library or concert hall any more or any less than the Gothic or Renaissance church differed from similar buildings of their times. The important but frequently overlooked distinction between the church and other buildings, but not between churches of different styles or periods, should be found in the observance of the liturgy—which, it may be mentioned, is the only code of regulations governing architecture specifically recognised by Church Law.

The thesis submitted in the paper may be summarized as follows: The modern, as an original style, is a reaction to a tangential or abnormal phase in the history of architecture represented by the attempted revival of the classical and mediaeval styles. It is consequently a reversion to normal, evolutionary development and therefore a logical continuation of the sequence of former original styles, which ended temporarily with the decline of the Renaissance at the end of the eighteenth century.

This view may seem an extremely novel one to those who are satisfied with Irish architecture as it generally is to-day. But if the theory proposed appears to be somewhat doctrinaire, let us remember that it is now accepted elsewhere, not only in principle but in practice. Holland has had what we call modern architecture for nearly fifty years. To-day it has nothing else in the way of contemporary work. Revival architecture has also disappeared from most other countries of western and central Europe. The new architecture which has replaced it has spread its roots widely and deeply, for not only has it influenced conservative countries like Britain but also what perhaps may be regarded as the most conservative element in each, the Catholic Church, as is evidenced in very striking fashion by some of the newer ecclesiastical buildings of these countries. Some hesitation in the past in allowing ourselves to be influenced by these events may have seemed natural enough, but the equanimity with which we still regard this laisser-faire attitude is less intelligible.

J. V. Downes

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LXVII

To Mág Shamhradháin, i. Niall and his wife Sadhbh

CAOCH CEISE Ó CLUMHÁN cc

1. Bean fa eineach [do] fhuair Niall,
buaidh ar a n-eineach ar-aon ;
do-ghéabhad uile ní ag Niall
tuile cliar gé thí re thaobh.

2. Fear fa heineach [do] fhuair Sadhbh
deigheach ar a duain dá dhearbh ;
dúthaigh dí car ar a charn
Sadhbh fa bhladh ar nach bí bearn.

3. Ní cruaidh an ghnaoisin do ghabh,
do fhuair an mnaoisin fa mhodh ;
fa heinighidh do fhuair fhear
ní cruaidh bean deigheinigh Dhor.

4. Fear nochor smuain sise acht sé
sise fa bhuaidh gé do bhaoi ;
ní fhuigheadh fear oile hí ;
bean Lí ar a goire don ghnaoi.

5. Céile fa teisd a-tá ag Saidhbh
teisd chéile na mná ní meirbh,
an dias tre dhíol na ndámh ndoirbh
sníomh soirbh a ndán ag a dheilbh.

6. Sadhbh 's a dámha ag díol na ndámh,
na dámha gá ndíon ag Niall,
mar ra-niad ní coimhshníomh caol,
siad ar-aon ag coimhdhíol chliar.

7. Lánamhain gan mhaitheas mion,
lánamhain chaitheas a cradh,
sgath gach cléire ag triall n-a dteagh,
Niall is bean Bhéirre fa bhladh.

8. Fearta féile a rath a-raon
—cá rath as réidhe re rádh?
maith dá díon a fear go fial
Niall 's a bhean ag díol na ndámh.

9. Ionnmhas Néill chaitheas re clú
is léir ar mhaitheas na mná;
do-ríne mar chongol gcnó
bronnadh bó an tíre i n-a dtá.

10. Cé théid ón daghmhnaoi gan díol?
an bhanghnaoi ní léig ar lár;
cia nach fuighe ní ó Niall?
do-ní riar dhuine gan dán.

11. Tug Niall fa bhuaidh is a bhean
gach a bhfuair gach cliar dá gcrudh;
ní ling rí an ghnaoisin do-ghabh
gan bhladh taoisigh dhí [do] dhul.

12. Niall féin nocho fear gan ghnaoi
acht gidh fial bean Néill fa ní;
luach ar a goire i ngnaoi
fuath le gach mnaoi oile hí.

13. Síodh 's na créachtaibh ó chleith Chál
dá mbheith i n-éantaigh ar-aon,
madh maith ag Dia gach fear fial,
do-sia Niall ar neamh na naomh.

14. Inghean Chathail ón glan gréas
ar gach bhfachain fa bhladh bhós;
nír chuir sí n-a cheann do chás,
acht a fás teann do-ní a nós.

15. Slat mhórfháis ag sníomh na sluagh
mac Tómáis ag díol na ndámh,
biaidh fa bhladh mar do bhaoi Brian;
do ghabh Niall an ghnaoi ar a ghrádh.

16. Iomdha dámh re dtaoibh as-toigh
gá rádh ris an dá chraoibh chuir:
"Bhar nós gnáth ag gabháil libh
cách mar sin ag robháidh ruibh."

17. T'fhear i n-ágh [ag] corcradh chrann
nó ar an trágh ag lothradh long,
[dot ucht do] chromadh [a] cheann
ag tolladh th'eang [do] lucht lom.

18. Do sgiath réidh, comhla na gcríoch,
a Néill, agud chomhdha ar chách;
gidh hí gá sgoltudh dod sgiath
is í an chliath ghontar do ghnáth.

19. Eang geal gá greanadh it ucht
dá bhar dtrealamh a bhean Bheart;
bláthoige gach ball id mhiocht,
sliocht do shnáthoide is cam ceart.

20. Ar son t'fhaithche núidhe, a Néill,
crodh na Búille a haithle t'áigh;
bha seach ód chathaibh do-chuaidh
creach n-a buaibh machaidh le mnáibh.

21. Ean balbh ar n-a dhéanaimh dhoit,
a Shadhbh, re fhéaghain is ait;
iomdha ealta it fháithim ghlic
im bláitheing mbric ngreanta id ghlaic.

22. Rabhudh ód mhnaoi, a Néill, do neach
agat féin má do bhaoi brath;
dar leat is gonta [dhí a] dreach
mar [do-chí] th'each corcra ón chath.

23. Ríoghan Bhreagh ag déanamh dhealbh,
a fear ag féaghadh a cholbh,
Niall ar moir ag coinnleadh charbh
Sadhbh as-toigh ag coinnmheadh chorn.

24. Sádhal an bhean fholtghlan fhionn
is a fear ag [folcadh] reann
do shnámh chuain chlaiste nír chrom
an tonn bhaiste ó 'd-chuaidh ma cheann.

25. Sadhbh is eang greanta ar a glún
nó gor ghearr leabtha n-a lár;
reanna na sleagh ar gurt ghliadh
re Niall 's a ucht geal re gádh.

26. Nír dhligh oige ar a mbiadh bearn ;
Niall mar as oide don arm
díreach cruime a chaoilearr ngorm,
is buime chorn saoireang Sadhbh.

27. Cá hionadh nach robha a rún ?
siobhal [na] mara is dá mhian ;
céim roimhe 's gan chéim ar gcúl
's do rún Néill i ngoire ghliadh.

28. [Fiort as-]tigh a-tá gá dheilbh,
na fir fa mhiocht na mná ag muirn ;
do fhuair [é i] saoireing ag Saidhbh
ainm agus sé i gcaoileirr chuirn.

29. Bas an taoisigh nocho tim,
do chas chraoisigh as a heirr,
do chas chleith ndolámhaigh nduinn
do dhruim eich shodhánaigh sheing.

30. Ní ró don mhnaoisin a modh ;
mó sa mhó an ghnaoisin do ghabh,
sádhal ar mnaoi mBéirre i mbrugh
's a gnaoi ag dul don bhéinne bhan.

31. Ní dhingneam ceilt ar neart Néill,
ní imreann beirt acht beart áigh,
Mág Amhraghán ó bhfill fóir,
glanbhranán óir a Cill Cláir.

32. Snaidhm gá nadhmadh gun mhín mheirbh
nachar snadhmadh i sídh Duilbh,
a chur nocho sníomh le Saidhbh
gach snaidhm dá mbíodh i mbrugh Bhoidhbh.

33. [On] ghnaoisin do-chuaidh fa chrodh
geall gach thaoisigh fuair an fear
géabhaidh an giall nachar ghabh
béaraidh a bhladh Niall ar neamh.

34. Bean Mharr do chomhchabhair chléir
d'íbh Conchubhair an mhall mhín ;
ó dtug géag Dhuibhe do dháimh
séad i láimh gach dhuine dhíbh.

35. Tuile cliar fa bhláth n-a bhrugh
fáth asa bhfuighe Niall neamh ;
nocho cruaidh do chaith a chrodh
flaith Dor fa bhuaidh is a bhean. Bean

36. Ó Dubhda ní duine mion
ré cumhga dá bhfuighe an fear
íoc i gceanaibh chraoibhe Dor
crodh d'fhearaibh Baoille do bhean. Bean

Translation

1. 'Twas by his generosity that Niall won his wife, they both excell in it ; though a flood of poets surrounded Niall, they would all get something from him.
2. 'Twas by her generosity that Sadhbh won her husband ; a fine steed given for a poem is example of this (generosity) ; Sadhbh's glory is undiminished ; 'tis her nature to be ever adding to it.
3. Easily he won his fame for generosity ; 'twas by his character that he won his wife ; easily did the generous Princess of Dor get a husband bound to her by bond of generosity.
4. Rich-gifted by nature, she set her heart on Niall alone ; Niall alone, so closely allied to glory could have won the Lady of Lí.
5. 'Twas owing to her fame that Sadhbh got her husband, high too his fame ; this pair, caring for cranky poets—to compose poems for them is a pleasant task.
6. Sadhbh's poet-bands safe-housed with Niall and looking after other poet-bands (that come on visit)—the pair (Niall and Sadhbh) take equal care of them all, practising therein a generous cooperation.
7. They are a couple who have great fortune and who lavish their wealth ; the flower of poets have been to their house ; Niall and the Lady of Béirre are in glory.
8. Wonders of generosity make the fortune of them both—and what fortune could be smoother ? Niall supports her in generous fashion, and he and she support poets.
9. The wealth which Niall spends in winning fame shows plainly in his wife's generous ways ; she thinks no more of giving away the kine of the land where she dwells than of (playing at) shooting with nuts !
10. Who comes away empty-handed from the noble lady ? She strives after a woman's true glory. Who leaves Niall without being richer ? He cares even for those who have no poetic power !
11. The wealth got from them by poets has established Niall and his wife in glory ; the prince gets none of his princely renown without some of it accruing to her.
12. Niall himself ever enjoys popularity, though generous is his wife also ; the reward she gets for enjoying a favour nearly as great as his is that other ladies dislike her.
13. Were Niall, Prince of Cál, to pray pardon for all the wounds he has inflicted, if they were all piled up together(?), he would be granted his prayer in Heaven of the saints, for God loves a generous-hearted hero.
14. Cathal's daughter, who inspires every poem's beauty, is glorious too on every count ; her renown waxes ever greater and she puts no check to its growth.
15. Niall, son of Tómás, constant support of poets, stout lath for weaving battle-ranks, will be for ever in glory as was Brian ; he wins favour because he loves that glory.
16. Many the poets living with those two firm-planted branches and saying to them : "May constant glory ever be with you, may all the world love you ! "
17. The husband reddens lances in fight or destroys ships on shore ; he would then (on coming home) bow his head in salutation before thee as thou art cutting thy cloth for the naked poor(?)
18. Thy shield, O Niall, guards the approach to thy lands and defends thee from foe ; 'tis the foes' rank which is always broken, split by thy shield (?)
19. Bright cloth for thy garment thou dost embroider on thy lap, O lady of Bearta ; beautiful artistry is every part of thy coif ; curving and symmetrical is every mark of thy needle.
20. For thy fresh lawn, O Niall, the cattle of the Búill are brought after thy fight ; from each battle comes booty, a *creach* of kine, milch-cows with their maids.
21. The silent bird thou depictest is lovely to see, O Sadhbh, and many herds find place on the neat border of the embroidered cloth which thou hast in hand.

22. By (the face of) thy wife, O Niall, one can tell if thy troop has got word to set forth ; thou findest her face flushed (with joy) on seeing thy bright steed return.
23. Breagha's Queen works figures (in tapestry), her husband examines his lance-shafts : Niall is on sea burning ships, Sadhbh at home arranging goblets.
24. The fair bright-haired lady rests at home while her spouse is wetting spears (with blood) ; never since the Baptismal wave flowed over his head has he bent before from the current of the foaming stream (i.e., crossing rivers when on raid).
25. Sadhbh kept the ornamental cloth on her lap till she had cut out (i.e., fashioned) raised designs in the centre of it (?) ; Niall with his sharp lances is on the battle-field, his white breast facing danger.
26. No object of handicraft should be left in injured state ; as Niall is a master in the use of arms, every crookedness in his pointed blue shafts is made straight, while Sadhbh gives a mother's care to the goblets with their fine carvings.
27. Whither has Niall's spirit not led him (?) He loves to traverse the sea ; when fight impends, his decision is to advance, never to retreat.
28. Men delight to look at the lady's coif, marvellous work made in the house ; he (Niall) finds his name worked on Sadhbh's splendid tapestry and (cut) on his goblet's thin stem.
29. Strong is the captain's hand ; he can brandish his spear (holding it) by its end, he can swing his cumbrous red lance as he sits his graceful clever steed.
30. This lady will always have her graceful manners ; ever greater the favour which Béirre's Princess gets and which rejoices her in her castle and flows forth on her retinue of ladies.
31. We shall proclaim Niall's power, every move he makes is a gallant one ; Mág Samhradháin, terror of foes, is a golden chess-king from Ceall Cláir.
32. Stitches never made even in Dolbh's castle are made by this gentle tender lady ; needle-work wrought in Bodhbh's castle give Sadhbh no difficulty.
33. In the popularity which attached to his wealth this hero surpassed every other ; the hostage he has not yet got he will get ; he will bring his fame with him to Heaven.
34. The Lady of Marr, the gentle stately lady of the Í Chonchobhair, ever helps poets ; owing to what this Branch from the Dubh has given poets every man of them now holds a treasure in his hands.
35. The flood of famous poets in Niall's castle will earn Heaven for him ; in no niggardly fashion has this gifted Prince of Dor—and his wife—spent treasure.
36. When time of stress comes on him, Ó Dubhda shows himself great ; the way in which that Branch of Dor atones for his faults is to raid the men of the Baoill !

NOTES

Mag. MS. p. 24

1*a*. do *abest* *d*. taebh 2*a*. do *abest* *b*. á deidh. ; dearbh *c*. ar a ca. 3*b*. da fu. *c*. -ighibh *d*. deidhinich 4*a*. ochor smain ; ach *b*. sissi 5*b*. *leg*. céille ? *c*. namh *d*. nd. ga dhe. *ba*. namh *d*. a co. chl. 7*a*. ma. *c*. deadh 8*b*. reighi *c*. gu 9*c*. righni ; cno *d*. brondo bo ; anata 10*a*. theit *c*. fuidhbheadh *d*. da ni riar dhuini 11*a*. Fuair ; cr. *d*. bl. ; *leg*. dtaoi. ? do *abest* 12*a*. Fein ocho ; gn. *b*. ach gi 13*a*. is na *b*. aneintigh *c*. mu maith 14*b*. fa. *c*. ceand *d*. ach 16*a*. taibh *b*. ris a da 17*a*. ag *abest* ; cr. *b*. ar a tradh ag lochradh *c*. go huccum da ; cm (o *over* c) ; a *abest* *d*. ag *abest* ; heang ; do *abest* ; *a letter blotted between* lucht *and* lam (?) 18*a*. da ; reigh ; cri. *b*. gud *c*. ge hi (?) *d*. in cl. 19*a*. ganadh (e *over* g) *b*. do bhar ; Bt (*overlined*) *d*. da snahaidi 20*a*. taidhchi nudi *b*. haigh *c*. ot 21*a*. -aibh *b*. fedhain *c*. .i. alt otahim (?) *d*. bcc (i *over* b) ganta (e *over* g) ; ghlaicc 22*c*. hi *d*. rathi 23*a*. Bag (e *over* b) *b*. fegham *c*. a co. *d*. a co. chorrn 24*b*. fear a corcradh crand (crand *crossed out and* reand *put in*) *c*. do namh *d*. an *abest* ; o cha. ; ceann 25*b*. nogor ge. ; -pdha 26*c*. -reoch ; a gailearr *d*. chorrn 27*a*. thinadh *b*. na *abest* *c*. che. ar cul 28*a*. *blank* *c*. e i *abest* *d*. 7 se a cail 29*a*. a ta. *b*. chr. *c*. nolamhaich *d*. shogha 30*a*. mogh *c*. mbrudh 31*a*. dhighnim *b*. imrind ; ach *c*. fhill *d*. Chl. (*dot doubtful*) 32*a*. snaim ; naghnadh ; mi. me. *c*. ocho d. snaim ; Bhulb 33*a*. An *b*. a fe. *c*. giabh 34*a*. Ma. i cl. *b*. dil co. in m. m. *c*. dug *d*. dibh 35*a*. brudh *b*. fhuighea 36*b*. fuidhbhea (*dot under* bh) *c*. ageanaibh chr. (*dot doubtful*).

SOME IRISH ASSOCIATIONS WITH SICILY

BY ROLAND BURKE SAVAGE, S.J.

ON the 16 February 1811, the last surviving Irish member of the old Society of Jesus, Father Thomas Betagh, died in Dublin. Towards the close of his life his friends used often ask him: "Oh! Fr. Betagh, what will become of us when you go to heaven?" To such questionings the old man had one answer: "No matter. I am old and stupid; but there is a young cock coming from Sicily that will crow ten times as loudly as ever I could." In November 1811, nine months after his death, Fr. Peter Kenney, accompanied by Fr. William Dinan and Fr. Matthew Gahan, arrived in Dublin from Palermo to prepare the way for the new Irish mission of the restored Society of Jesus. Fr. Kenney had been appointed Superior of the little band by the Provincial of Sicily, and in the following year he was confirmed in that office by the Father Vicar-General writing from St. Petersburg (Leningrad) on 30 October 1812; "Meanwhile I confirm your Reverence in the office of Superior which was committed to you by the Provincial of Sicily, and I leave you joined with the Province of Sicily for the time being in conformity to the good pleasure of the Holy See." In 1814, the year Fr. Kenney opened Clongowes, five other Irish Jesuits reached Dublin from Palermo to help him staff the new school. In these pages we propose to tell something of the story of these young Irishmen from Sicily and to show how they preserved the continuity between the old Society of Jesus and the new in Ireland.

I

By the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, dated 16 August 1773, Clement XIV, under strong pressure from the Bourbon Governments, decreed the suppression of the Society of Jesus. Of the seventeen Jesuits then working in Ireland eleven formally accepted the Brief from Dr. Carpenter, Archbishop of Dublin, on the 7 February 1774. Five others made their submission in Waterford at the same period; while the remaining Jesuit, Fr. Edward Keating, who had been P.P. of Wexford by Papal rescript since 1750, no doubt signed his submission to the decree in the presence of the Bishop of Ferns, Dr. Nicholas Sweetman, as the Brief had to be intimated to the Fathers by the local Ordinary.

Even before the Suppression the Jesuits had, for the most part, acted as assistants to the parochial clergy, so that their change of status made little outward difference to their work in church and class-room. Outstanding among them were Fr. John Austin, Fr. John Fullam, Fr. Richard

O'Callaghan, Fr. James Philip Mulcaile and Fr. Thomas Betagh. Of their work we shall make no direct mention here, for we are concerned with only one aspect of it: the steps they took to ensure that young men were ready to carry on the great traditions of the Irish mission if and when the Society were restored.[1]

At the time of the Suppression Fr. John Ward was the Superior of the Mission; he had been Superior of the Dublin Residence in 1752, had taught philosophy for two years in Dublin, and had been made Superior of the Mission in 1760. With the approval of Fr. Ricci, then General of the Society, he had sent a considerable sum of money from the Mission funds to help the Italian Fathers in their need at the time of the Suppression. As he and his confrères believed that the Society would one day be happily restored, they were most anxious to preserve what little property remained for their successors. With this end in view various agreements were drawn up to safeguard the future of their capital.

Their hopes of the eventual restoration of the Society were much buoyed up by the seemingly providential survival of their brethren in White Russia. Catherine II had refused to allow the Brief of Clement XIV to be promulgated in her dominions and, later on, Pius VI regularized the position of the Jesuits there by allowing them to elect a Superior-General. After the Suppression of the Society in the Low Countries, the English Jesuits, now living as secular priests in community, continued their College in Liège for the training of secular priests for work in England and for a certain number of lay-boys. On the outbreak of the Revolutionary Wars in Belgium the Fathers transferred their College to Stonyhurst, near Blackburn, which they had bought from Mr. Thomas (afterwards Cardinal) Weld in 1794. On the election of Pius VII the Fathers at Stonyhurst petitioned the Vicar-General in Russia to allow them to rejoin the Society. When the request was referred to Rome, Pius VII gave a verbal approval of their reception, but added that he judged it inopportune to give a formal written sanction as opposition to the Society had not yet died down.

The Vicar, Fr. Gruber, acted immediately on this permission of the Pope and wrote to Fr. William Strickland, a professed Father of the old Society, authorizing him to admit Fr. Marmaduke Stone, the Superior of Stonyhurst, to solemn profession and then to install him as Provincial of the Society of Jesus in England. Fr. Stone took his vows on 22 May 1803, and shortly afterwards he re-admitted to solemn profession six former members of the English Province, Fr. Nicholas Grou, the well-known spiritual writer, and Fr. Richard O'Callaghan of the Irish mission. To complete the restoration in England Fr. Stone opened a novitiate at

[1] For a fuller account of the Suppression period in Ireland, the reader is referred to an article of mine: "The Suppression and Restoration of the Society of Jesus in Ireland" (*Irish Jesuit Directory*, 1942, pp. 198-216).

Hodder, near Stonyhurst, and on the 26 September 1803 twelve scholastic novices and two brother novices began their first probation under Fr. Charles Plowden.

Of the seventeen members of the old Irish Mission only two, Fr. O'Callaghan and Fr. Betagh, lived to see the restoration in England. Though Fr. Betagh did not re-join the Society, probably because of his commitments in the Archdiocese of Dublin of which he was now Vicar-General and P.P. of St. Michael and St. John's, Rosemary Lane, he had lost none of his old love for it and was mainly responsible for gathering together and training the young men who were to restore it in Ireland.

Already two years previously, on the 6 June 1801, he had sent Peter Kenney and three other young men to Carlow College to begin their ecclesiastical studies with a view to entering the Society. Now that the Society was re-established in England he transferred his students to Stonyhurst, and on 26 September 1804, Messrs. Kenney, Ryan, Cavanagh, Considine and Yore began their noviceship in Hodder as the first Irish novices of the future Mission. With them a number of others began their studies in Stonyhurst preparatory to entering the novitiate. Shortly after the completion of their noviceship Mr. Kenney and others left Stonyhurst for Palermo to do their studies in theology. In July 1809, another batch of Irish scholastics—Bartholomew Esmonde, Paul Ferley, Charles Aylmer, Robert St. Leger, Edmund Cogan and James Butler—followed them from Stonyhurst. One of these, Bartholomew Esmonde of Kildare—then a young man of almost twenty—wrote a log of their eventful journey which makes interesting reading today.

II

" On Wednesday, 5th of July 1809, in the evening we went on board the *Lascelles* at Liverpool. She lay high up in the river with a rich cargo, valued about £30,000, in bales of cloth and Manchester stuffs. The ports for which she was destined were Gibraltar, Palermo (where we were to land), Messina, Malta and Smyrna. She was a new vessel (this being her second voyage), built at Hull, and she mounted ten guns, two swivels, and had nineteen hands, besides seven passengers.

" The next morning we fell down the river to the magazines, where we took in our ammunition. We passed the rock with the evening tide, and soon after parted with our pilot. The wind was fresh and remarkably favourable, and carried us in less than nine hours within sight of the Hill of Howth. Here our captain, wearied with the business of the day, retired to the cabin to take some rest. He then happened to cast his eyes on a compass, which he always kept directly over his hammock—the sailors call this compass a tell-tale. It was a fortunate precaution for us, for the sailor who held the helm had drunk rather too freely and was

steering the ship directly towards the Wicklow coast, so that, if he had not been removed from his post, we should have been stranded in less than half-an-hour. After this, our run down the Channel, keeping close to the Irish coast, was remarkably quick. On the evening of the second day from Liverpool we passed the Tuscar Rock, and the following day made Cape Clear, the most southern point of Ireland. We then stretched out into the Atlantic across the Bay of Biscay. On the 12th July we made the latitude of Cape Finisterre, though we were too far out to see the land.

" The first land we saw was the Burlings Rocks, off the coast of Portugal. Here the wind fell entirely and we were becalmed for nearly six days. During the calm our captain amused himself by boarding several Portuguese coasters. We got from them different kinds of provisions—garden herbs, lemons, fish, etc.

" Before we left the Burlings, our captain exercised us in the use of our muskets in order to prepare us to meet privateers, as ours was a ship running without convoy. At length the breeze freshened up and carried us down the coast of Portugal and Spain to Cape Trafalgar, rendered famous by the victory and death of Lord Nelson. Thence we bore down for the Straits (called by the sailors " the gut "). Before we entered them we were stopped and boarded by an English frigate, the *Hyperion*. Her officer, who came to examine our papers and the men's protections [passports], obliged us to lie by for two hours while he performed what he called his duty. Among our sailors was one unfortunate Irishman who was set down in the ship's register as " subject of Great Britain," but who now declared himself to be an American citizen and produced an American protection as such. But on being questioned more narrowly he had the ill-luck to produce a paper specifying that he was a British subject, had served several years in the English navy, and had received his discharge during the last peace. This settled the business, and the poor fellow was instantly taken from us.

" This matter detained us so long that it was dark before we entered the Straits, so that we had not the pleasure of seeing the coasts on either side, except by the faint glimmer of the moon. Early in the morning we found ourselves at the entrance to the Bay of Gibraltar. The high hills on each side were covered with clouds, especially the adamantine Rock of Gibraltar. As usual, the appearance of the Rock, and still more of the town, by no means came up to the idea I had formed of them.

" There was little or no wind, so that we were obliged to tow our vessel with boats up to the place of anchorage, which was directly under the Rock. Here we were boarded by an officer from another frigate, the *Porcupine*, who pressed another of our men.

" We lay six days in the bay unloading our cargo. Five other captains, tired with waiting for convoys from England, agreed to sail with us. As

some of them were armed, we thought we should be able to meet any of the privateers with which, we were told, the Mediterranean swarmed. On the 28th July, about nine o'clock at night, we weighed anchor. By some mismanagement the others who had agreed to accompany us, left us to ourselves. We kept close to the Barbary coast, where the current from the Atlantic is stronger.

" On Monday 31st July, early in the morning, we descried two sails. One of them we imagined to be one of those that had agreed to come with us from Gibraltar. About two o'clock we came up with her, but she proved not to be what we had expected. She appeared to mount eighteen guns, and we had little doubt of her being a privateer. All hands were instantly called on deck, the drum beat to quarters, and every thing was prepared for action. The passengers were armed with muskets, though some had scarce ever fired a shot before. We may thank heaven that their unskilfulness did not prove more fatal to us than to the imaginary privateer. She proved to be an American schooner, bound for Cagliari in Sardinia, and had but one small gun, the rest being painted port-holes. The schooner begged to accompany us ; and the following day another American brig joined our company. For two or three days the wind was most favourable, and we expected to be able to make the south of Sardinia and thence to direct our course straight to Palermo ; for we imagined that the more we kept clear of the African coast, the less liable we should be to fall in with privateers. But during the night the wind entirely changed and carried us, much against our will, towards the Barbary shores.

" The first land we made was Cape Bugaroni. Here we saw several flocks of flying fish, and the sea swarmed with many other kinds of fish, but we caught none. Our fishing, however, was soon over. The next day we had something more serious to do.

" In the morning of the 7th August the Island of Galita was in sight. I shall remember it for many a long day. About eight o'clock we perceived a sail making towards us from under the African coast. The American schooner, which had a most war-like appearance, fired her one gun, hoisted signals, and seemed prepared to give chase to the privateer. The enemy disconcerted at this, kept a respectful distance for some time, and at length tacked about and made off entirely.

" While we were congratulating ourselves upon this escape, we little thought that the hour had arrived in which all our fears were to be realised. We were all at dinner about half-past two o'clock, when we were told that a strange sail was in sight, bearing down towards us before the wind. We waited with impatience until her nearer approach should discover to us what we had to expect. I never saw a vessel sail so fast ; in less than an hour she must have run at least fourteen miles. Our decks were instantly cleared, and each man was at his post ready for action. The seven

passengers also had their stations allotted to them. Our crew consisted of only seventeen, of whom five or six were sick and four were mere boys.

" The object of our fears was almost within gun-shot. The sight of her alone was enough to make us despair. She was a ship with three masts, rigged partly with square sails, partly (like most privateers) with that peculiar rigging which they call Latin, remarkably easy to manage, and fitted entirely for the light winds of the Mediterranean. She showed the Algerine colours, and for some time we were uncertain whether she was a friend or an enemy. Our captain suspecting that, if they retired for the present, they might possibly surprise us during the night, was anxious to bring the affair to a conclusion before dark. He made use of both strong language and strong liquor to encourage our men, and ordered a gun to be fired in token of defiance. The enemy hauled up her courses, as the sailors term it, and advanced with a large sweep of oars, still under Algerine colours. At length she hoisted the French flag and long pennant, and discharged her whole broadside upon us. The balls all whizzed over our heads through the sails, etc. We answered them with a full broadside of which almost every shot told. They tried to come closer and board us, but again our cannons made them keep off. For about an hour both sides kept up a very brisk fire. At length the enemy began to take almost entirely to the small arms. We stood all the time to our cannons, always loaded with both ball and canister, which must have done sad execution amongst the enemy, as their deck was so crowded. In the heat of the action an accident happened which was near proving fatal to us. One of the boys was bringing up three or four cartridges at a time when a spark of fire fell on them and caused a dreadful explosion. The boy and the captain himself were caught up by it, and three others were dreadfully burned. All that part of the ship was in a blaze, and I and one of my companions got a good singeing, but escaped unhurt.

" As soon as the explosion was over, we gave a loud hurrah and renewed the engagement, which was now near an end. I shall ever consider it a providential interference of heaven that we were able to beat off a vessel of such superior force without even so much as a single man being wounded by the enemy's fire, which pierced our masts and sails in several places.

" About a quarter before four o'clock the privateer began to slacken fire and to keep at a greater distance. We continued a constant fire till past four, when they were completely driven from their post and obliged to fly. They must have received great damage; otherwise they would never have run off as they did, crowding all sail and standing in directly for the shore. We followed them, not with any hope or wish of overtaking them, but to show we were ready for them again, in case they should attempt anything during the night, but they seemed to have no such inclination.

" When it was dark we tacked about and continued our course. At the commencement of the action the captain, in order to encourage his men, promised them three day's liberty when they should reach Palermo, besides £5 to drink. It was surprising to see what effect this trifling promise had upon them. It was all the subject of their talk after the battle, instead of thanking heaven for their escape.

" We directed our course towards the north, in order to keep clear of the Isles of Maritimo, etc., on the north-west coast of Sicily; for, though these islands belong to Sicily, the privateers are not afraid to anchor directly under them, so that from here to Cape Bond is the most dangerous part of the Mediterranean.

" About ten o'clock the wind began to rise and, during the night, increased to a violent gale; and we then witnessed the heaviest seas we had experienced since we left England.

" We were more than once alarmed at the appearance of a strange sail. The poet sings: 'The wind shakes, the miser quakes.' He might have said of us with equal truth: ' A sail appears, again their fears renew.' When the unwelcome cry came from the masthead of ' a sail in sight,' the manner in which the men received the summons to prepare showed me that we should have fallen an easy prey if attacked.

" The day before we had expended four barrels of powder and only two remained. Besides six of our men were sick, and had been so for a considerable time. Our captain and four others were so much burnt as to be of no service whatever. Fortunately the vessel proved to be the American schooner which had abandoned us the day before at the commencement of the engagement. The captain congratulated us on our escape, and told us the reason why he had left us was that, seeing the strange ship bearing down upon us, under Turkish colours, he was obliged to fly for fear of being made prisoners by the Turks, as he had lost his Mediterranean passport. He advised us to put into Cagliari, from which we were but thirty miles distant, in order to refresh our men, and proceed to Palermo with the next fair wind, adding that probably we should also have the advantage of a convoy. But the desire of reaching our destined port made us undervalue every other consideration. We accordingly parted with the American and abandoned all thoughts of Cagliari.

" In the beginning of the night the wind was favourable, so that we hoped to reach the Bay of Palermo in thirty-six hours; but in the morning the breeze died away, and all our fears redoubled. Late in the day we were favoured with a slight breeze, which carried us as far as the small island of Ustica, where we found ourselves on the 10th August. Here every breath of wind failed us, and for the three succeeding days we had the mortification of enduring the scorching sun and, what is still worse a Mediterranean calm, when almost in sight of Palermo. We might, indeed, have entered the port during any of these nights; for, though

there was a perfect calm by day, we had always at night as much wind as would have answered our purpose. But our captain was so much burned by the explosion (which I mentioned) that he could neither see nor handle the charts or compass; and he was afraid to venture into the port in the dark, as he had never been there before. At length, on the morning of the 14th, we advanced as far as the entrance to the Bay. Here we were again becalmed, so that we were obliged to do as we had done at Gibraltar, that is, to hire a couple of boats to tow us into harbour; we finally cast anchor at noon-day on the Feast of the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady, 1809."

III

That autumn young Esmonde and his fellow Irishmen settled into the less exciting life of study in the Jesuit College of Palermo, where five years later all, except Edmund Cogan who died towards the close of his first year in Sicily, took their D.D. Meanwhile Peter Kenney had been ordained priest and shortly afterwards began work as chaplain to the British soldiers in Sicily. Owing to the determined opposition of the Governor of Malta, he had to discontinue working among the troops. Subsequently the question was raised at Westminster by Grattan, with the result that Catholic soldiers were given full liberty to practise their religion.

Sicily at this period was occupied by British troops, who were defending it for the King of Naples against the French who had already driven the King out of his kingdom of Naples. The Pope, Pius VII, was a prisoner of the French in Rome, and a daring attempt to free him was determined upon in which Fr. Kenney was invited to play a leading part. He was told by his Superior to be ready to set sail within an hour's time on a British man-of-war bound for Civita Vecchia. When the frigate, which was commanded by Captain (afterwards Admiral) Cockburn, reached the papal port, Fr. Kenney remained on board while his companion, Fr. Angiolini, went on to Rome to propose to the Pope that he should leave Rome, come aboard the man-of-war and sail for England, where the British Government were willing to put a residence at his disposal until the French were driven out of Rome. The Pope, however, preferred to remain with his stricken flock, and so the project fell through. Captain Cockburn, who was charmed with his two Jesuit guests, was afterwards fond of recounting that he alone of His Majesty's Navy could boast of the honour of being ordered to hold himself and his ship at the disposal of two Jesuits with a view to bringing the Pope to England.

Soon after this Fr. Kenney returned to Ireland (November 1811) and began a remarkable career which, if justice is to be done to it, will need a further article.

R. Burke Savage

IRISHMEN IN THE SEVEN YEARS WAR

A Communication from Dr. Richard Hayes

Professor Tierney's illuminating contribution to the last issue of *Studies*, in which he discusses the repercussions in Ireland of the Seven Years War, has prompted me to give a short account of the part played in its battles and sieges by Irish soldiers. For many reasons indeed that tedious and bitter conflict from 1756 to 1763 is of unusual interest. No other war, it has been truly said, had greater results in the history of the world. By its destruction of French dominance in Canada and India it laid the foundations of the British Empire, with which Ireland's fortunes—or misfortunes—have been so closely associated; and it laid the foundation of modern Germany. It was somewhat unique in being the only one of the great dynastic wars of the eighteenth century in which thousands of expatriated Irishmen, hitherto ranged against each other in opposing armies, found themselves battling on the same side in the Franco-Austrian alliance. And during its progress the long-cherished ideal of the Jacobite exiles, a French invasion of Ireland, was almost realised; but the war's end, so unfavourable to France, dissipated for ever, as Professor Tierney points out, all hopes of a Stuart restoration. And in this connection it is interesting to note that the final collapse of Jacobitism as a result of the Seven Years War synchronised with the extinction of an effete concept of patriotism in Ireland. It was supplanted by that democratic and nationalistic concept which, fostered a generation later by the United Irish resurgence, was to materialise so forcefully in the various movements of the nineteenth century and ultimately in Irish political independence. The change was mirrored early in the patriotic songs of the poets, who ceased to sing of Charles Edward the " wandering prince of the Gael " and instead made Ireland, under various symbolic names, the central theme of their verses.

I

Soon after the outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1756 Austria and France (with Russia and Sweden as auxiliaries) had marshalled their armies against those of England and Prussia, and (as has been mentioned) Irish soldiers of fortune were for once to battle side by side in the French and Austrian ranks. The flower of the Irish Brigade in the French service had been recently destroyed in the holocausts at Fontenoy and Lauffelt. Yet now in 1756—ten years later—one finds the various corps of the Brigade captained by the kinsmen of those who fell as they swept across the Rhine to join their compatriots in the army of Austria. In the latter were, among many others, two outstanding Generals of the age, Field-Marshal Count Ulysses Browne and Field Marshal Count Maurice Lacy, whose fame had rung throughout the continent before the war began. Both came of old Limerick families, who had given and were to give many soldiers of renown to Europe. Browne, the elder of the two by twenty years, had a long career of brilliance behind him, the last chapter of which was now about to be written when in September 1756 he moved into Saxony at the head of the Austrian forces to relieve that country when it was suddenly invaded by Frederick the Great. Their two armies clashed at Lobowitz in the first battle of the war. After seven hours fighting both sides claimed the victory, though Browne was compelled to retreat before superior numbers. Faced with tremendous difficulties he drew up, two weeks later, a plan of co-operation with the Army of Saxony, by which a simultaneous attack was to be made on the Prussian position. The

plan failed through delay on the part on the Saxons, who immediately surrendered to Frederick. A rigorous winter set in which told severely on Browne, whose constitution was weakened by twenty-five years of strenuous campaigning in the battlefields of Europe. One of his officers who served under him at this period of stress, has left a striking tribute to his character and worth :—

> " I have seen staff officers, distinguished only by their sasheries and insignia, who would not have stirred to inspect a vedette without 250 men. Our Field-Marshal was of a different kind—sharing with his troops all the hardships of these critical days and, in spite of a violent cough which often brought the visible blood from his lungs and quite wore him down, exposing himself like the meanest of his army to the tempests of rainy weather. Think what a sight it was, going to your very heart and summoning you to endurance of every hardship, that evening when the Field-Marshal, worn out with his fatigues and his disorder, sank out of fainting fits into a sleep ! The ground was his bed, and the storm of clouds his coverlid. In crowds his brave war-comrades gathered round, stripped their cloaks, their coats, and strove in noble rivalry which of them should have the happiness to screen the Father of the Army at their own cost of exposure, and by any device keep the pelting of the weather from that loved head."

A retirement into winter quarters followed soon after the battle of Lobowitz, and in April, Frederick, at the head of 100,000 Prussians, again set out in three columns from Saxony. His objective was Prague, where the Austrian forces were mobilising. The second column was, during its march, attacked at Reichenberg by an Austrian detachment under General Count John Maguire, a native of Ballymacelligot, Co. Kerry, who had in his youth entered the Imperial Army. (Maguire as we shall see, was to play an active part in the war). On the morning of May 6, the two rival armies, entrenched on opposite sides of Prague, prepared for the bloodiest battle of the eighteenth century. Browne, in supreme command of the Austrians, was shortly before superseded by the Prince of Lorraine. Early in the day the Prussians made an enveloping move towards the enemy's right flank, which Browne tried to counter by an extension on the same. But the grenadiers of Frederick, though forced back again and again by a storm of bullets and grape-shot, drove the Austrians before them ; and after three hours of charging and counter-charging, with immense carnage on both sides, part of the Austrian forces retired into Prague and the remainder retreated. At the height of the conflict Browne, leading a bayonet charge, had his leg shattered by grape-shot, from the effects of which he died some weeks later.

The death of this gallant soldier, recognised by friend and foe as a superb tactician was a grievous blow to Austria. Many tributes then and since have been paid to his name—among others by Carlyle, who describes him as " a right valiant soldier and man, the flower of all the Irish Brownes (though they have quite forgotten him in our time) and of all those Irish Exiles then tragically spending themselves in Austrian quarrels ! " At Prague, where the career of the valiant soldier ended, were his two sons, Count Joseph and Count Philip. The former, who succeeded to the command of his father's regiment, fought at Leuthen immediately afterwards and in the following year at Hochkirchen, where he received several wounds from the effects of which he died. The second son, Count Philip, fought at Lobositz and in 1758 was shot through the neck, after which the Empress decorated him with the Military Cross and Order of Maria Theresa.[1]

At the siege of Prague, too, was an illustrious kinsman of the Brownes, Count Maurice Lacy who was to play a major role in the Seven Years War. The beleaguered

[1] Another representative of this family, Count John Browne, though only fifteen years old at the commencement of the Seven Years War in 1756, fought at Torgau (1760), Freiberg (1762), and in other engagements.

city was suffering untold hardships from famine and plague, and Lacy proposed a bold scheme of relief: at the head of 12,000 Austrians, he volunteered to cut a way through the enemy—a plan which would have succeeded but for its betrayal by a deserter. During the subsequent phases of the war he became the intimate friend of the Austrian commander-in-chief, Marshal Daun, who consulted him in every crisis; and before its termination he had acquired the reputation of being, next to Frederick the Great, the most brilliant tactician of the age. For his services at Hochkirchen in 1758 he was awarded the Grand Cross of Maria Theresa, and with every subsequent battle his military repute grew till, just before the end of the war, he received the baton of Field-Marshal from the Emperor's own hand.

Of equal fame with the Brownes and Lacys for brilliant service in the war were their compatriots the O'Donnells. General Count Connell (Charles) O'Donnell (eldest son of Hugh O'Donnell of Larkfield, Co. Leitrim) was, at the outbreak of hostilities, appointed colonel of the regiment of his name. He fought at Leuthen and at Hochkirchen, where he contributed to the victory by his valour at the head of a storming column of sixteen battalions. In 1760 at Torgau, one of the bloodiest battles of the war, Marshal Count Daun (who, as Professor Tierney shows, was a hero in the verses of the Irish poets at the time) was wounded and disabled. He thereupon committed the supreme command to O'Donnell and, though the Austrian forces were defeated, the Irish officer's strategy repelled the Prussian advance on Dresden. For this achievement it was unanimously resolved by the chapter of the Order of Maria Theresa that, although he was not a knight thereof, he should be invested with the Grand Cross of the Order. His younger brother, General Count John, had a similar record in the war and especially distinguished himself at the battles of Kolin and Leuthen, for which he like his brother was decorated with the Grand Cross. And their cousin, Count Henry O'Donnell, was similarly honoured for outstanding conduct at Schweidnitz in October 1761 when, as Major of Plunkett's regiment, he successfully led a storming column against the chief gate of that fortress. Count Henry later became Imperial Chamberlain at Vienna, where he was a special favourite of Maria Theresa, whose cousin he had married in 1754. He was so attached to the Irish language that whichever of his nephews was sent out to him had to be a complete Irish scholar. (Another representative of the O'Donnell family who took part in the Seven Years War was Count Manus, son of Charles O'Donnell of Castlebar, where he was born in 1713. He was Colonel of the O'Donnell regiment in the Austrian service. On being given leave of absence at the end of the war he returned to Ireland, where he died in 1793 at the age of 80. In Straide Abbey, where he was buried, there is a monument to his memory.)

Amongst other Irishmen decorated with the Grand Cross for distinguished conduct at the siege of Schweidnitz was General Count Patrick Wallis. At this siege the Austrian commander General Loudon attacked Schweidnitz with twenty battalions. At one place in the rampart the Austrians met with desperate resistance, and Loudon's regiment, led by Wallis, was more than once repulsed. Finally, the Irish officer exclaimed: "Comrades, we must scale the fortress or I will perish here. That was my promise to our commander; our regiment bears his name and must conquer or die." The soldiers, fired by his words, leaped into the ditch, mounted the rampart, and by the capture of the fortress deranged the plans of the great Frederick. Wallis was born at Dublin in 1724 and belonged to the family of Wallis or Walsh of Carrickmines, Co. Dublin, kinsmen of the Walshes of Shanganagh Castle who, like many others, had to seek their fortune abroad after the Treaty of Limerick.

At a later siege of Schweidnitz (1762), which in the meantime had been captured by the Prussians, two other Irish officers in the Austrian service gained much renown for their gallantry. They were Colonel James MacBrady (Born at Loughtee, Co.

Cavan, in 1732) and Colonel James O'Mulrian (born in Tipperary in 1716). His striking valour at the siege earned for MacBrady the Knight's Cross with the title of Baron, while the Cross was also conferred on O'Mulrian, who died on the day it was received by him.

Two natives of Kerry, General Count John Maguire of Ballymacelligot and General Richard Pierce of Aghamore, achieved not a little distinction during the Seven Years War.[1] Maguire especially increased the high reputation he had already acquired before its commencement. After the Austrian victory at Kolin in 1757 he was dispatched, with 20,000 men, to cut the retreat of the shattered army of Frederick the Great, and in the following year he captured the important fortress of Sonnenstein. But it is with the Siege of Dresden in the summer of 1760 that his name is particularly associated. Frederick at the head of the Prussian army determined, after careful preparations, to occupy that beautiful city. Maguire its Governor, commanding 14,000 troops, defended it with marked ability. Frederick, baffled in his design, bombarded it ruthlessly, killing immense numbers of the inhabitants and reducing entire quarters to ashes. Serving under Maguire was Colonel James Nugent of Longford who, on the night of 31 July, headed an Austrian force that sallied out from the beleaguered city in an attack on the Prussian trenches. Described as " the eye of the enterprise," he was awarded the Grand Cross for this and other acts of gallantry during the siege.

The records show various other Irish officers at all the great battles between 1756 and 1763. At Kolin (1757) General Baron Thomas Plunkett of Kilkenny crowned the repute he had won during the War of the Spanish Succession. At the same battle and at Torgau three years later Count William O'Kelly of Gallagh Co. Galway, showed a gallantry which brought him rapid promotion. At Torgau too, where he was wounded, fought General Charles Kavanagh of Borris. And at Kolin and Dresden,with his compatriots Maguire and Nugent, was Count Richard Dalton of Westmeath, who was to have a long and brilliant career. Nor from the shining roll of the more famous among those tragic exiles who, as Carlyle says, " spent themselves in Austrian quarrels," should the name be omitted of one who, being a mere youth, was engaged only in the closing stages of the War. This was Andrew O'Reilly of Ballinlough, Co. Westmeath, who was destined to rank as perhaps the most brilliant of the Irish soldiers who served in the Imperial army of Austria. Born in 1742, he died in Vienna in 1832.

II

During the Seven Years War the Irish soldiers in the service of France were employed not only in the main front in central Europe like their countrymen in the Austrian army, but also in a maritime front along the French coast and in a colonial front in India. At the outbreak of hostilities the Irish regiments of Clare, Dillon, Berwick and Rothe were encamped around Dieppe awaiting orders for a projected invasion of the British Isles. When this did not materialise, they were incorporated in the French force of 100,000 men which swept across the Rhine to the aid of Austria in the spring of 1757. They took part in all the great battles of that year—Hastenbeck, Closterseven and Rossbach. At the latter place, where the Austrians suffered an overwhelming defeat, the Irish cavalry regiment of FitzJames, led by Colonel Thomas Betagh, covered itself with glory. Frederick the Great, describing the battle, relates how two Austrian regiments formed up to face the Prussian

[1] Besides Maguire and Pierce, two other natives of Kerry, who afterwards had brilliant military careers, took part in the Seven Years War. These were General Count Daniel O'Connell and his cousin Baron Moritz O'Connell, who both left Ireland in 1760 and took part as cadets in the last two years of the War.

troops at the crisis of the fighting and sustained the shock ; but " being abandoned by the French, the regiment of FitzJames alone excepted, they were almost totally destroyed." In the following year the Irish regiments, in view of the proposed French invasion of England and Ireland, were brought back to France. The French fleet was mobilised early in 1759 on the coast of Brittany under Admiral Conflans, and arrangements were made for the transport of 50,000 men. Half of these, which included the various regiments of the Irish Brigade, were intended for the landing in the south of Ireland ; and Charles O'Brien, Lord Clare, was to be second in command with the rank of Field-Marshal. The overwhelming defeat of the French fleet, however, ended the project. Only a small squadron of five frigates under Thurot (grandson of an Irish Jacobite named O'Farrel) succeeded in getting through the enemy blockade and landed in Ireland at Carrickfergus. After occupying that town for some days, Thurot set sail for France and was killed in action on the journey.[1]

After the failure of the expedition, on which the Irish Jacobites in France and their countrymen at home had placed high hopes, the different corps of the Irish Brigade were in 1760 again sent to Germany. In that and the following years they fought in the chief battles till the end of the war—Corbach, Clostercamp, Marburg, Freiberg, Torgau, etc. At Marburg, in particular, the Irish corps distinguished themselves and helped effectively to win the day.

Although, as has been mentioned, the flower of the Irish Brigade in the French army had been destroyed at Fontenoy and Lauffelt, the officers who now, in the Seven Years War ten years later, captained it, maintained its traditions. The roll is a brilliant one. Chevalier Peter Nugent of Westmeath fought valiantly in the FitzJames cavalry regiment on the fatal day of Rossbach when its commander, Colonel Thomas Betagh, was wounded and his brother Captain John Betagh was killed. In the same battle Count Patrick Darcy of Galway, famous scientist and officer in that cavalry regiment, took part, as he did in several other battles of the war. Rossbach is associated with the bearers of other illustrious Irish names who fought there under Colonel Betagh—Chevalier James Sarsfield, Count Patrick Wall, Captain Maurice Mac Mahon, Captain Bernard MacSheehy, Captain Maguire, Captain Fergus O'Farrell, Captain Robert O'Shee, etc. Another O'Shee too, a mere boy, smelt the smoke of battle there for the first time—he was to become a Count and Peer of France and, as an intimate friend of Wolfe Tone, was to accompany the French expedition to Bantry Bay in 1796. Another distinguished Irish officer at Rossbach, in a French regiment under the Prince de Soubise, was the Chevalier Christopher Fagan of Killarney, who in the following year was wounded at Ham and had to retire from active service.

General Count Charles Rothe of the illustrious Kilkenny family, though advanced in years, went through all the campaigns of the war.[2] After Freiberg, one of its last battles, Prince Henry the Prussian commander, writing to Frederick the Great, informed him that the old Irish officer was one of his prisoners. Under Rothe fought Robert Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, who like so many of his comrades had already gained fame at Fontenoy. Colonel Richard Warren of Corduff, Co. Dublin, whose valour brought Prince Charles Edward safely to France after Culloden, played an important part in the maritime front of the war, during which he held a responsible

[1] The Jacobite poet Liam Dall Ó Hiffearnáin, in his *Failtiughad Righ Searlas*, refers in the year of his coming to the gallant adventurer :—

Ar chualais mar tháinig go Cúige Uladh an ghárda
Thurot na shlóinte le h-iomarcadh sgóip ?

[2] The poet Ó Hiffearnáin in a poem (referred to in the previous note) written during the Seven Years War has laudatory lines regarding General Rothe :—

Ta an Ruta sa láidir má's fíor gach a ráidhtear
An crobhaire ceann-árd 's a bhuinne gan bhrón.

post on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany. Associated with him was the Chevalier John Redmond of Shelborne, Co. Wexford, who, after seeing service in Germany, was sent back to France and was appointed Quartermaster-General in Brittany. There the victory of St. Cast, where part of the English invading force was driven back to their ships, was generally recognised as due to his initiative and bravery. His cousins, the brothers Michael and Gabriel Redmond—both of them Chevaliers of the Order of St. Louis and officers of Walsh's Irish corps—were also in the war. In its second year the former was exchanged into the service of Austria, where he became adjutant to General Thomas Plunkett. Colonel Gabriel returned from Brittany to the German front in 1760, but in 1761 a wound received at the siege of Marburg necessitated his retirement from active service. At Marburg too, where (as has been stated) the Irish Brigade gained renown, was a young Irish officer, James O'Moran of Roscommon, who forty years later was a distinguished general of the Revolutionary army and was guillotined in 1794 at the height of the Terror. At the siege he was specially noted for his gallantry. He had been chosen to command the cannon of his regiment, and in that capacity his conduct received a particular mark of distinction from the French court. Sharing with him the victory at Marburg was his fellow countyman Thomas O'Connor Roe (son of the O'Connor Don) as captain of the grenadiers, who upheld his reputation for bravery gained at Fontenoy for which he received the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis.

Simultaneously with the activities of his compatriots in the European fields of the Seven Years War, General Count Thomas Lally was in India as Commander-in-Chief of the French expeditionary force battling there against England. But his career, brilliant in its course and tragic in its end, is too well known to need any record here.

RICHARD HAYES

REVIEWS

Biography

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON. By Ellen Hart Smith. Harvard University Press. London: Milford. 1943. 21s. 6d. net.

"In Maryland," says Miss Smith, "dabbling in research about Charles Carroll of Carrollton is as well-recognised a hobby as taking pictures or collecting postage-stamps." In Ireland, it must sorrowfully be admitted, only a very few people know even who Charles Carroll was, and of these few it would be safe to bet that their knowledge usually stops at the fact that he was the only Catholic to sign the American Declaration of Independence. One of the merits of Miss Smith's charming book is that it relates this great American statesmen to the Irish background of which he was thoroughly conscious and which may even be said to have had a decisive influence on his life. There has been no biography of Carroll, making use of original sources, since the two-volume work by Kate Mason Rowland, published in 1898. Miss Smith has quite clearly made an exhaustive study of contemporary journals, letters, and other documents, many of them unprinted. Her book is beautifully produced and a real delight to read. It is also excellently illustrated with pictures of Carroll himself, his father, and various family mansions, among which Homewood, built for his son and now standing on part of the campus of Johns Hopkins University, may be especially singled out for its beauty. Miss Smith believes that Carroll himself designed it, and experts have declared it to be the finest Georgian house in America.

The first American Charles Carroll came to Maryland in 1688 as Attorney-General to its Palatine, Lord Baltimore. His family were a branch of the O'Carrolls of Ely and he was himself the second son of Daniel O'Carroll of Litterlouna in the then King's County. Miss Smith might easily have added another fascinating chapter to her book by going into more detail about the history of the Irish O'Carrolls. The Attorney-General lost his post through the Revolution in a few months, and his political career thereafter was a stormy one, but he managed to amass a great fortune, and his son and grandson were afterwards the richest men in all America. The second Carroll was excluded from political activity by reason of his religion, but like his father was involved in many quarrels and, like him also, spent a little while in jail. "All the Carrolls" says Miss Smith "felt very strongly about being Irish." The Attorney-General instructed his sons, when at school at St. Omer, to sign their theses "Marylando-Hibernus." The second Charles, as late as 1761, is found admonishing the third on "ye Duty all Irish men owe to ye Glory and Honour of their Country." Long afterwards, when the Signer of the Declaration of Independence was an old man, the Irish flag was flown in his honour in Baltimore on the occasion of Lafayette's visit in 1824.

These are merely external signs of the much more important part played by their inherited Irish tradition in the conduct of the three men. The grandfather and father of the Signer were both rebels against oppression in the name of religion. The first chose as his motto on coming to America, and had engraved on his seal, the phrase "ubicumque cum libertate." The second, irritated by the special penalties imposed on Catholics during the Seven Years War, had actually prepared and carried a certain distance towards realisation a plan to leave Maryland and organise a colony of Irish Catholics somewhere under the French Crown, when his wife's death put a stop to it. The third was unquestionably guided in all his acts by the same fierce spirit of independence. He was involved in a controversy over the rights of the citizens almost immediately on his return from his legal studies in London in 1773. It is amusing to note that his adversary was another Irishman, Dulany, who had risen high in the law by embracing Protestantism, but whose status was severely

weakened because of the fact that his father had come over from Ireland as an indentured servant. This controversy, in which by sheer accident Carroll assumed the pen-name " First Citizen " in order to reply to the arguments put by Dulany into the mouth of a " Second Citizen," was so successful that the pen-name became almost a real title and from then on Carroll was not merely the richest man but the leading politician in Maryland.

That his political activity did not bring him even greater glory than he eventually won was partly due to his religion, which made it difficult for him to assume the full public role to which his great abilities entitled him and which after a time his fellow-citizens would have willingly accorded him. It was due also to his very real disinterestedness. He was far more intent on the public service than on glory for himself. Thus he refused to represent Maryland at the first Continental Congress in 1774 except in an unofficial capacity. " If my countrymen judge me incapable of serving them in a public station . . . . I will serve them in a private capacity " he said. None the less it was he who secured religious freedom for Maryland in 1776, and it was this example which led to its enactment for the United States as a whole in 1789. This was his revenge for the frustration from which his father and grandfather had so long suffered. No other American leader had so clear a determination that the movement which began with the Boston Tea Riots should end in complete independence. In this, as Miss Smith justly emphasises, he stands superior to Washington himself. Like his religion, this determination to get rid of English rule was a heritage from his Irish forbears.

Miss Smith's work has one quality which is clearly feminine. She is more interested in the private, personal life of her subject than in the political issues which filled his long career. This quality adds immensely to the ease and interest with which her book can be read. With the most admirable apparent simplicity, she cunningly uses every detail which will help to make her characters live. The result is a book which will surely rank as one of the foremost among biographies of eighteenth-century figures. Seekers after historical knowledge will not perhaps find that she has done full justice to the public side of Carroll's life—but then, as she says herself, if she had tried to do so, her book would have been many times as long. On the other hand one cannot help feeling that she rather exaggerates what she considers Carroll's " neglect " of his wife, which merely means that public business kept him away from her for long periods. On his religious views also it is probable that her lack of acquaintance with Catholicism from inside has caused her to emphasise certain things wrongly ; but at any rate she is entirely frank about her standpoint in every case. Her treatment has the further great merit that it puts Carroll's later life, after he had retired from active politics, in its proper proportion. He died in 1832 at ninety-six, and for many years before had been venerated as the only surviving Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Few Irishmen at any rate will read this fascinating book without a feeling of pride in the wisdom and integrity of one of the greatest of their race. M. T.

THE DESIRE TO PLEASE. A Story of Hamilton Rowan and The United Irishmen. By Harold Nicolson. London : Constable. 1943. 15s.

DURING few periods of Irish history do the base and the heroic, the venal and the virtuous, stand out in such vivid contrast as in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Most of the leading figures of those complex years have had their biographers ; and in this book, with the curious title, Mr. Harold Nicolson gives a striking portrait of his great-great grandfather. Hamilton Rowan was a quixotic figure, an enigma in many ways, a gentle, impetuous, chivalrous, high-minded man, a champion of lost causes. Mr. Nicolson presents a penetrating study of him with his many virtues—his courage and patriotism, his generosity, his wide human

sympathy for the wronged and the weak. Nor are his frailties minimised—his biographer stresses " his love of approbation, his impulsiveness, his jangled loyalties." He catalogues and analyses them all pitilessly with what at times seems almost like a malicious delight. And he writes, surely with some exaggeration, of " his really deplorable career " and of " his wrecking of his life." To interpret such an attitude on the part of his biographer as lack of sympathy would be a mistake. For there is, running through this study of his ancestor, a certain admiration and affection—not openly expressed indeed but often suggested—which is of course not incompatible with a frank facing of Rowan's infirmities and limitations. And at least one result for the readers of this admirable book is that a more vital and human personality emerges from its pages than otherwise would.

As one follows from chapter to chapter the story of the curious career of Hamilton Rowan with its many vicissitudes, he appears in some contrast with his friend Wolfe Tone—not as regards courage or chivalry or sincerity—these were characteristics of both—but in that stern realism, merry wit and lucid judgment of men and things that Tone possessed. In the end of the first stage of his career, only a few years after the Insurrection which he helped to inspire, Rowan made his peace with the English government, declared himself " sick of politics," and obtained a free pardon for what he had come to consider the indiscretions of his earlier years. He frequented the Castle drawingrooms and lived to a round old age—dreaming, one thinks, in his peaceful mansion at Killyleagh of the friends of his youth who, less lucky than he, died in prison or exile. Yet with them he is cherished and will long be cherished in the national imagination of Ireland ; for, as his biographer says, he endured long and bitter suffering for the rights of a religion and a race which were not his own. And, apart from its intrinsic excellence, this remarkable biography, with its style of rare distinction, will long stand as a monument to his memory. R. H.

History

A HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By Rev. John F. O'Doherty, D.D., Ph.D. Dublin : The National Press. 1943. 3s. 6d.

Dr. O'Doherty has been teaching Church History at Maynooth for the past twelve years and more. This short text-book, designed for use in Irish Catholic schools, is based on his lectures, although it is obvious that an immense task of compression and omission has been necessary. The whole long story of the Catholic Church, from the days of the Apostles to modern times, is here set forth in 284 pages. Maps and illustrations have been omitted to gain space, and it is astonishing how much Dr. O'Doherty has been able to compress within so narrow a compass. The book will undoubtedly be welcomed by all Catholic teachers in this country. Its outstanding characteristic is a power of clear, vigorous statement —the mark of an able teacher who has had long experience in the class-room.

One section of this work deserves very special commendation. Within the narrow limits of less than 80 pages Dr. O'Doherty has set himself to convey the essential lessons of the medieval Catholic world. He is here, in my judgment, at his best. To quote his own introductory Foreword to the Pupil : " In this little book, you will find an *outline* of the history of the Church ; but an outline which will give you a general idea of the story of the Church, and which will, moreover, enable you better to understand larger works on the history of the Church, if you are led to read such works in later life." That is a very fair description of these admirable pages. In a concluding summary of " The Achievement of Medieval Catholicism," Dr. O'Doherty has succeeded in conveying the impression of a vital and spiritual force that contrasts sharply with the materialist standards of our modern world ; and he ends this section with a well-chosen quotation from Corrigan's *Church in the Nineteenth Century*, where the same lesson is driven home.

There is also an exceedingly clear and workmanlike account of the reform of the medieval church in Ireland, carried through by a group of Irish reforming saints of whom St. Malachy was the most forceful and the most successful. Here, and in an earlier section on the Early Irish Church, Dr. O'Doherty has made full use of Father John Ryan's excellent text-books of Irish history.

I have chosen this section on the Middle Ages for special praise since it has given Dr. O'Doherty his best chance of revealing his powers as a teacher and writer. The sections on the Protestant Revolution and the Catholic Counter-Reformation are not so satisfactory. Here the effort to compress within the limits of a single volume has compelled the author to omit a great deal that might fairly be expected in a text-book for schools. The story of the Counter-Reformation, in particular, is told so briefly that one feels the lack of proportion acutely. Take, for instance, the single case of the missions to the pagan world. Francis Xavier is named as one of the first founders of the Society of Jesus, but there is no hint anywhere that he opened up a new field to the missionary activity of the Church which links his name with the discovery of a new world by Christopher Columbus. And it is a remarkable fact that there is absolutely no mention, either in this section or in the final section on the Church in the nineteenth century, of that immense missionary movement to the pagan world which has revealed a miraculous vitality in the Church which men thought on the verge of collapse in the revolutionary era of the late eighteenth century.

In general, I feel that the tendency in the later portion of this volume has been to concentrate unduly on the external or political fortunes of the Church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That is a complicated story, and the effort to compress it into a series of short paragraphs is sometimes unsatisfying. But there is an excellent, though brief, account of the struggle between Church and State in modern France, Germany and Italy; and the author has brought out very clearly the great contribution made by Irish men and women as builders of Catholic society in America and Australia.

It is very much easier to criticise a book of this kind than to write it; and I should like to end this review by wishing Dr. O'Doherty all success in his effort to stimulate a new interest in the teaching of Church History in all our Catholic schools, primary and secondary. I have no hesitation in commending his book to all Catholic teachers, of whatever grade, as an exceptionally able and instructive example of how Catholic thought and Catholic doctrine can be strengthened and supported by sound teaching in the history of the Catholic Church. A. G.

HISTORY OF NIGERIA. By A. C. Burns, K.C.M.G. London: Allen and Unwin. 3rd edition 1943. 15s.

TRIBES OF THE NIGER DELTA. Their Religions and Customs. By P. Amaury Talbot. London: Sheldon Press. 18s.

THIS comparatively short work of some three hundred pages should be placed in the hands of all those who, for the first time, take up work in the political or commercial services in Nigeria. It supplies them with an invaluable background against which they can handle, in an enlightened fashion, such actual problems as may arise in the discharge of their duties. Without this preliminary survey of the course of events which have prepared the present situation on the West Coast it would be only too easy to make grievous mistakes in dealing with the difficulties that continually confront both trader and political officer in a country that has, as yet, but very imperfectly, if at all, assimilated the ideas of European civilisation. The newcomer, unless his mind is previously prepared, is prone to apply, in the execution of his tasks, notions that would seem to him axiomatic but which to the native mind might easily prove incomprehensible. That this danger is real is clearly proved

by the plans for Africa's betterment that, in recent years, have emanated from sources of a liberal-philanthropic but somewhat socialist character. Commissions sent out to study social and economic conditions in Equatorial Africa regularly make the mistake of considering the African worker or tiller of the soil as if he were exactly in the position of his European brother suffering from grievous economic and social disabilities. In fact there is no parity in the situation.

A reading of Sir Alan Burns's book suffices to dispel the notion that the tribes, even the most progressive ones, in territories watered by the Niger and its tributaries, are politically mature enough for essays in complete self-government. Undoubtedly considerable progress has been made. It is so considerable that those for whom nowadays a journey to Nigeria is almost as normal as one to the Continent, find it difficult to realise that they are setting foot in a country in which but yesterday most barbarous conditions of life prevailed. Missionaries are still alive who worked in Nigeria at a time when it had the reputation of being the most thankless and the most dangerous of mission countries. Roads there were none, and cannibalism was widespread. It was only in 1900 that the British Government definitely took responsibility for the organisation and policing of what has turned out to be one of its most valuable dependencies. It was as recently as 1914—a few months before the outbreak of the last Great War—that the political administration of the country took a definite form as the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. The term " Protectorate " is now in common use, but as yet it has not a strictly legal definition. British Protectorates are not British territory in the strict sense, but it is understood that no other civilised Power will interfere in their affairs. They are administered under the provisions of the Orders in Council issued by virtue of the powers conferred upon the King of England by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act 1890. (*History of Nigeria*, p. 225). In 1939, for purposes of administration, the Protectorate of Nigeria was divided into three groups of Provinces: the Northern, the Western and the Eastern. The two latter groups correspond to what was until then known as Southern Nigeria: the Colony is coterminous with the strip known as Lagos and its territory. The lands of the Protectorate belong to the natives, and native law and customs run dependently on British tutelage. The only proviso is that nothing contrary to the European sense of humanity is tolerated. Hence slavery and cannibalism are strictly prohibited.

Sir Alan Burns's work is objectively written. It does not gloss over the iniquities of the slave trade or the unscrupulous methods that marred legitimate commerce in the beginning. It was the conditions created by the suppression of the slave trade and the necessity of protecting the lives and property of the British merchants engaged in the palm-oil industry that gradually forced the British Government, much against its will, to shoulder the responsibility of the territories of the Niger and the Benue. Many valuable lives were sacrificed in the process. These lives would not have been lost had the Imperial Government been more alive to the dangers to which it exposed its servants in this savage and turbulent country. Captain Molony was murdered at Keffi in 1902. Hillary and Scott perished at Satiru in 1906. Crewe-Read was done to death at Owa in 1906, and as recently as 1916 Maltby perished in the Montoil country. The most deplorable outrage that marked the course of the British efforts at pacification was the murder of Mr. Phillips and his companions on the way to Benin in 1897. Punitive expeditions invariably followed these desperate crimes, but prevention would have been better than punishment.

The *History of Nigeria*, besides tracing the gradual growth of British intervention in the affairs of the country, has several chapters on land tenure, communications, commerce, the Civil Service, the Judicial System and on Religion and Education. In the chapter on Religion and Education the author might have paid a tribute to

the valuable contribution to the civilising of the country made by the Catholic missioners. He makes no particular mention of their work. This is ungenerous.

Tribes of the Niger Delta, a work of more than three hundred pages, contains a painstaking and fairly exhaustive account of the strange religious beliefs and the barbarous customs of the Negro tribes dwelling in the territories of the Niger Delta. As the author contents himself with a somewhat uncritical statement of the native accounts of the origin and powers of the land and water spirits whose influence they dread and of the numerous taboos that are begotten of this superstitious dread, the book will not prove very interesting to the general reader. As however, in the administration of the country, the British officials respect native law and custom, a knowledge of the contents of this volume would be of considerable value to the young political officer taking up work in Nigeria. E. LEEN

LETTERS AND MEMORIALS OF FATHER ROBERT PERSONS, S.J. Vol. I (to 1588). Edited by L. Hicks, S.J. London : Catholic Record Society. (Privately printed for the Society as Vol. XXXIX of its Publications). 1942. pp. lxxvi + 371.

THE Catholic Record Society was founded in 1904, its purpose being " to print Registers and other old Records of the Faith, chiefly personal and genealogical, since the Reformation in England and Wales." This latest addition to the series of the Society's Publications keeps the record of achievement at slightly more than one volume a year—no mean achievement over a period that has been twice disturbed by a world-war ; and the fact that this latest volume appears with paper, print and binding no whit inferior to any of its predecessors is a remarkable tribute to the foresight and efficiency of those who are responsible for the management of its temporal welfare. Father Alphonsus Bonnar, O.F.M., is the present General Editor. To him and to the editor of this most important publication, Father Leo Hicks, we offer our warmest congratulations.

Not for the first time in the recent history of the Society's work, it has been wisely decided to depart somewhat from the narrow limits set before the Society by its original programme. Ten years ago the Society devoted a whole volume to the Memorials of Father Augustine Baker, O.S.B., with other documents relating to the English Benedictines. The task which Father Hicks has undertaken is even more comprehensive. He has been commissioned to publish a complete text of the Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons—the most celebrated and active of all the early English Jesuits. The full collection will fill three volumes of the Society's Publications, and a glance through the 370 pages of the present volume will show the most casual reader that Father Hicks has undertaken a most formidable and self-sacrificing task. Here is an accurate critical text of the correspondence which Persons maintained during the years 1578-88, with a full translation into English of the Letters (and they are by far the greatest number) written in Latin or Italian. To each of them Father Hicks has added brief biographical notes, identifying persons mentioned in pseudonym, correcting or settling the chronology, clearing up minor puzzles ; and the series of letters is prefaced by an introduction of 76 pages in which the learned editor reviews the whole of his hero's activity during those ten eventful years.

The earlier letters throw light on the famous mission of 1580-1, which ended in the arrest and martyrdom of Edmund Campion and the withdrawal of Persons to safety in France. The story is here familiar to all students of English Catholic history, and Father Hicks recalls the more dramatic incidents in that heroic tale. He has much to say about the secret press which Campion and Persons organised during those few months of active missionary work in England, and makes it plain

that Persons, when he seized the unexpected opportunity of a safe escort to the Continent after the arrest of Campion, was primarily concerned with the continuity of an apostolate that had more than proved its value. His own account of the Elizabethan persecution, and the first issue in 1582 (under the title of *First Book of the Christian Exercise appertayning to Resolution*) of a work that was later to be much expanded and reissued as his famous *Christian Directorie Guiding Men to their Salvation*, were the first fruits of his apostolate after the loss of his more brilliant fellow-worker. Another enterprise of these early years deserves to be noted: the founding of a school for English boys at Eu, from which St. Omer drew its first pupils and which can thus be justly claimed as a forerunner of the modern Stonyhurst College. Persons was an active and restless schemer; but no one can accuse him of lack of foresight and sound judgment.

There is much here about the abortive negotiations for an "Enterprise" in Scotland during the years 1582-4; and it is obvious that, once Persons was back on the Continent, he plunged eagerly into those political schemes with which his name has been associated ever since. But Father Hicks gives solid reasons for his conclusion that Persons and Campion, in accordance with the express instructions of the Jesuit Father General, kept clear of these activities during their short mission in England. And he again argues here, as he has argued elsewhere, that Persons was only following the lead of Dr. Allen, then the acknowledged leader of the English Catholics, in these political plans. The later legend that Allen was drawn into these schemes by Persons can be traced back to the ugly controversies surrounding the Archpriest controversy, and Father Hicks has deserved well of historical scholarship by demonstrating the falsity of this charge. Allen appears as the true leader, and a very able leader, in these negotiations—with one significant exception. It was Persons, not Allen, who initiated the proposal that Allen should be made a Cardinal, so that his influence on Roman and Spanish policy might be enhanced by his new dignity. That decision was finally taken in 1588, when Philip II was busily preparing his ill-fated Armada. With that turning-point in the history of Elizabeth's reign this volume closes.

There are of, course, many picturesque details in all these letters to and from the leading English Catholic exiles. Perhaps the most amusing is a letter, dated 6 June, 1587, in which Father Persons writes to the Jesuit Assistant, Father Hoffaeus, and sets forth at large his reasons for objecting to the performance of polyphonic music in the English Seminary recently entrusted to the Jesuit Fathers. There are not more than five or six Fathers in the college, he complains, and they have quite enough distractions as it is—especially on feast days, when it is almost impossible for them to pray. Then again, it was the custom for the students to sit in the Canons' stalls in the church on such great occasions, and a number of ladies come and sit quite near to these stalls, facing the students. Finally it would be necessary to keep at least one choir-boy with a soprano voice; and sad experience has thought the Fathers to distrust choir-boys. For these goods reasons Father Persons prefers Gregorian chant to polyphonic music—and who shall say that he was in the wrong? A. G.

THE MAKING OF THE INDIAN PRINCES. By Edward Thompson. Oxford University Press. 1943. 20s.

SUBJECT INDIA. By H. N. Brailsford. London: Gollancz. 1943. 6s.

A GREAT deal of research has gone into the preparation of Dr. Thompson's book. It throws much new light on the careers and characters of Malcolm, Metcalfe and Elphinstone, the "Big Three" of the Indian Political Department during the crucial period of Lord Wellesley's and Lord Hasting's rule. It may be assumed, however, that most readers who take up the book will be looking rather for

information about the Princes and their States than about these gifted and forceful personalities. The book gives little or no information about the States or their rulers except in relation to their conflicts and dealings with the British. It tells us a little about their armies and their leaders, but next to nothing about their people or their systems of government—now or in the past. It is somewhat as if a historian of Irish farming were to devote his chief attention to biographical sketches of the principal figures in the Department of Agriculture and say little or nothing of Irish farmers and their farms. For all this, Dr. Thompson's book does give us many interesting side-lights. Take, for instance, his remark that " no person could ever be so humourlessly oppressed with his own towering importance and undeviating rectitude " as Lord Wellesley who " lay down, slept and awoke always the Governor-General." Not, one would imagine, a very suitable person to lay the foundations on which the future structure of British India was to rest.

Of the premier Indian State, Hyderabad, Dr. Thompson says that it attained its position " entirely by the fact that it became very early a *tulchan* kingdom, straw-stuffed and held upright by the Company." This is hardly fair to Hyderabad, a State as large as France and one which, in the years before Tipu fell, was a vital element in the Indian power system and which since then has been a most consistent and helpful ally of England.

Mr. Brailsford excuses his book, *Subject India*, on the ground that it says things which no one else is saying. This, as he realises, may be a condemnation rather than a justification; but in the present case I think Mr. Brailsford has rendered a service by ensuring that the point of view he represents, chiefly the socialist point of view, shall not be overlooked in the study of the Indian problem. He begins his book by a pleasant picture of the work of agricultural reclamation which is being carried on in a certain rural district in England and goes on to lament that, despite the need of similar work in India, it is left undone. Why? Because the cousins and sons of the men who are bringing about these agricultural reforms at home seem to lose the enterprise and the creative imagination for such a social experiment when they join the I.C.S. and go to India on fat salaries. And so " A bas le I.C.S.! " Fortunately for the feelings of any admirers of the work of the I.C.S. in India it is only necessary to read on a few pages to come on the antidote in Mr. Brailsford's own words. Here they are :—

" To India these rulers gave what a competent bureaucracy and a disciplined army can give—order and peace. That is quickly said. To realise the value of these things, we of this century must read the wearisome chronicles of the eighteenth, with their monotonous tale of rapine, slaughter and starvation. Plague and famine, albeit tardily, these foreign rulers vanquished. To all this the historian has a final chapter to add, which tells how the engineers conquered distance, brought fertility to deserts and drew power from the Himalayan snows."

Mr. Brailsford is favourable to Congress and Mr. Gandhi, but disapproves of the Muslim League, which he regards as an instrument of capitalist policy to keep the workers and peasants disunited, so as to stave off the day which the great landlords already see coming—when their peasants, Hindu and Muslim, will march together under the banner of the hammer and the sickle. The same criticism is frequently directed against Congress by its opponents. Mr. Brailsford does not acquit the British of the oft-repeated charge that their policy is " Divide and Rule." He admits their conscientious endeavours to act impartially between various creeds and classes, but considers that the creation of separate electorates for Mahommedans was a mistake. He thinks that more should have been done to educate Indians into unity and that less emphasis should have been placed on religious differences.

F. C. K.

Philosophy

GOD AND PHILOSOPHY. By Etienne Gilson. London: Milford for Yale University Press. 1941. 12s.

M. Gilson owes his reputation as the first living historian of philosophy to an unrivalled insight into the genealogy of ideas, the unconscious influences of mind upon mind or, within the same mind, of idea upon idea. Sometimes insight, the discernment of a fact, invokes the aid of conjecture, the discernment of a possibility; but such is his command of the available evidence that even his conjectures, though unproved, can rarely be disproved by the greatest scholars.

The present book is a study of the conditions under which philosophy can reason to the existence of such a God as will satisfy man's religious aspirations—in other words, the conditions under which reason can so far push its groping snail-horn that religion can begin where it leaves off. The method of study is to survey in cross-sections the history of philosophy and analyse the causes of its failure (where it has failed) to mount to a true idea of God and, where it has succeeded, to ascertain the reason of success. First of all, M. Gilson shows why the Greek thinkers could never reason to a personal God as the first real principle of things. They felt constrained to make the divine intelligence presuppose its ideas as things on which it depended. Before the Homeric Zeus was Fate; before Plato's Demiurge was the idea of the Good; before Aristotle's Pure Act of Thought, or at least independently of it, was the world by relation to which it was a partner. The failure of the Greeks necessarily followed on their concept of God, not as what is fundamental in reality, but in terms of an essence, such as intelligence. Now if what is fundamental in a thing is not fundamental in reality, the thing must depend for the ultimate explanation of its reality on something outside of it.

Not until St. Thomas, taking his hint from the revelation of God's name to Moses as He Who Is, fixed his thought on a Pure Act of Existence, above essence yet including all its perfections and among them intelligence, did philosophy discover the personal God, yet supreme, of religion. The pages on St. Thomas's doctrine of analogy are astounding for the new brightness with which they illuminate a doctrine already explored by the best genius of seven centuries. Finally, M. Gilson shows that the subsequent habit of conceiving of all things in terms of physical science corrupted metaphysics, led men to attempt to conceive of God once more in terms of essence, and at last to doubt of Him in face of their failures. We have only space to mention the dazzling penetration of many *obiter dicta* in the book, its quiet wit and racy English, its mature knowledge of the literature of thought in English, and (to the publisher's credit) its handsome production.

Nevertheless when M. Gilson, as historian, declares that things have happened thus as a matter of fact, he is likely to command wider agreement than when, as philosopher, he contends that they could not have happened otherwise. He makes too light of the evidence for the view that Plato at least occasionally did accept the conclusion that God is identified with the Good. Goodness itself is not an essential contraction of being, and Plato in one place (Rep. 509) puts the Good beyond essence. Elsewhere (Phil. 22 C) he identifies the Good with Absolute Mind and calls it divine. Now it would be no compliment to the Good to call it divine, if God were inferior to it; we, for example, would never call God angelic or human. And there are other passages (Phil, 31 A, Rep. 379 C, etc.), to the same effect. Indeed Plato's resolute opposition to Parmenides (not mentioned by M. Gilson) makes it almost inevitable that he should have considered the possibility of a Pure Act of Being at the head of things. Parmenides held it so firmly that he could not believe that any other being was possible; he had the unique distinction of convincing himself that he did not exist. But if Plato even temporarily arrived at a correct

idea of God, revelation cannot have been absolutely necessary to enable man to do so.

The truth seems to be that M. Gilson is quietly reaffirming the position he assumed when some years ago he bore a distinguished part in the controversy on the possibility of a Christian philosophy. Those who defended that possibility were divided into two parties. According to one the philosopher could only make progress by having his main conclusions revealed to him first and, from that suggestion, finding the reasoning that would lead to them—like the bad little boy who looks up the answers to his sums in the back of the book before working them out and then devises a working out that will seem to show how he got those answers. St. Bonaventure represents the extreme in this kind, though it is not suggested that he ever faked his answers or at all resembled the bad little boy in badness.

According to the other party, theology and philosophy proceed on parallel lines in independent pursuit of the same truth by a kind of pre-established harmony. The philosopher need only consult revelation by way of corroboration after arriving at his conclusions and thus keep clear of graver errors—like the good little boy who consults the answers after working out the problem for himself. M. Gilson tends towards the Bonaventurists, but there are those who hold M. Maritain's position, the emancipation of philosophy from being a mere *ancilla theologiæ*, to be more consistent with Thomism. Important however as it is to note the point, it will hardly diminish the essential value of M. Gilson's admirable book. A. L.

POLITICS AND PEACE

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1938. Volume 2. Edited by Monica Curtis. Oxford University Press. 1943. 25s. net.

THE PROBLEM OF GERMANY: An Interim Report by a Chatham House Study Group. Oxford University Press. 1943. 2s. 6d. net.

A WORKING PEACE SYSTEM. By David Mitrany. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Oxford University Press. 1943. 1s. 6d. net.

THE first and by far the largest of these books is a collection of documents and speeches covering the period of the German annexation of Austria and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. For the general reader its value is perhaps limited, except in so far as he gets an odd sensation from the contrast it provides between present circumstances and those of 1938. For the student its utility is bound to be very great indeed. The work of compilation and translation appears to be admirably done. There is a minimum of running commentary, which serves to put the documents in their historical setting, and the translations from German are here and there provided with brief explanatory annotations from the authoritative hand of Professor Norman Baynes.

The other two books are really good-sized pamphlets, the first prepared by a study-group under the auspices of the Royal Institute for International Affairs, the second by a professor in the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study. *The Problem of Germany* is the longer of the two, and contains an admirably realist approach to the whole question of post-war international relations. Rejecting extreme courses, it seeks to work out, at least in outline, a policy which will carefully take account of of all the relevant facts. Apart from the general interest of its diagnosis of Anglo-German relations, it throws valuable indirect light on historical problems. Perhaps the most striking instance of such illumination is its remarkably cool analysis of the position of France in relation both to Germany and to its own quondam allies between the two wars.

The second pamphlet is a brave effort to find a solution for the problem of international organisation which will avoid the extremes of mere power-politics on the one hand and vague plans for federation or union between sovereign States on the

other. Recognising that both these extreme types of policy have been already tried and found wanting, Dr. Mitrany explores the possibility of what he calls the functional development of international organisation. This would imply an attempt to by-pass national sovereignty by carrying much further the kind of work in relation to which the League of Nations has been comparatively successful. Dr. Mitrany deliberately rejects any attempt at finding constitutional or legal formulas for international union, and suggests that there is much to be learned from the administrative work of the Federal Government in the United States under the New Deal, in which State rights were left untouched but such gigantic schemes as the Tennessee Valley development were put through with general consent. He considers various detailed examples of such administrative unification in relation to transport, mineral production, health services, and even education, and shows how it could be made effective. Whatever may be said of his suggestions in detail, there can be no doubt that his idea is sound in principle and that the best hope for the future lies in such extra-political treatment of carefully selected and isolated problems. Whether, even if successful, his scheme would ultimately prevent wars is another matter. At any rate it would do much to change the basis of inter-State relations. M. T.

PRINCIPLES FOR PEACE. Selections from Papal Documents, Leo XIII to Pius XII. Edited for the Bishops' Committee on the Pope's Peace Points by Rev. Harry C. Koenig, S.T.D. Washington: National Catholic Welfare Conference, Milwaukee: Bruce (Distributor). 1943. pp. 919.

THE POPES' NEW ORDER. Social Encyclicals of Leo XIII, Benedict XV, Pius XI and Pius XII (1878-1941). A Systematic Summary by Philip Hughes. London: Burns Oates. 1942. 9s.

Two years before the outbreak of the present war a French Catholic firm issued a volume of 480 pages entitled *La Patrie et la Paix*, in which two French Jesuits, Fathers Yves de la Brière and P.M. Colbach, published with brief notes a collection of papal documents on peace and the necessary conditions for peace. It began with the Allocution of 15 January, 1886 (*Etsi Res*) in which Leo XIII explained his work as peaceful arbitrator between Germany and Spain in the dispute concerning the Caroline Islands; and ended with the Encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* of Pius XI (19 March, 1937) in which the Pope once more warned the modern world against the errors of Communism. Apart from the fact that the French editors thought it necessary to add the official text, whether in Latin, Italian, French or German, of the original papal document to the series of French translations, this volume differs only in size from the very much larger and more elaborate volume of 919 pages now issued on behalf of the American Bishops' Committee on the Pope's Peace Points. As in the French volume, the documents are arranged in chronological order, with a brief survey of the work done by each successive Pope for the cause of peace. But this very handsome American volume contains far more documents from the pontificates of Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV and Pius XI; and has in addition a collection of no less than 137 documents from the first four years of the pontificate of Pius XII. No more complete or more authoritative collection in English is likely to be issued for many years to come. There is no text in the original Latin or Italian, but the editor has been most careful to name the source from which he has borrowed his English translation as well as the publication in which the original text may most conveniently be found. There is also a very elaborate subject-index which adds much to the value of the whole.

A glance at the Table of Contents reveals the immensity of the task that faced the Vatican during the four years of the last Great War, the twenty-one troubled post-war years and the first years of the present tragedy. The activity of Benedict XV and Pius XI finds here full representation, and contrasts sharply with the

ten years of the pontificate of Pius X during which the Holy See tended rather to withdraw from diplomatic interests and concentrate on the problems of internal reform. Most of the texts quoted from the reigns of previous Pontiffs are familiar to all serious students of Catholic action; but it is indeed a boon to have so large a number of the documents issued by the present Holy Father made available for consultation. The immediate effect of his diplomatic activity has been much hampered by rigid censorship in all the belligerent countries; but every Catholic who turns the pages of this volume must breathe a prayer that the peace-making energies of Pius XII may finally be crowned with success.

Father Philip Hughes has prepared his collection on somewhat different lines. The documents are here grouped under nine main headings; and the contribution of each Pope to Catholic doctrine on all the main problems that trouble the modern world is thus made more readily intelligible to the serious student. An enumeration of these nine headings is perhaps the best way of bringing home to the reader the plan which Father Hughes has followed in this excellent text-book of Papal Social Policy: The Fundamental Causes of World Unrest and the only Real Solution; Some Erroneous Solutions; The State and its Powers; The Catholic Attitude to the Modern State; Practical Direction for Special Crises; Family Life the Basis of National Well-Being; Ideals in Education; The Capitalist System and the Worker; The International Problem. Father Hughes has not aimed at a multitude of shorter documents, in which there must always be much tedious repetition. He has contented himself with lengthy extracts from the main Papal Encyclicals: from Leo XIII's *Inscrutabili* (1878) to the two Christmas Allocutions of Pius XII (*in Questo Giorno*, 1939; and *Nell' Alba*, 1941). Once again, may the Holy Father's Christmas messages of peace be effective in a world that sorely needs them! P. D.

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN FRANCE. From Sieyès to Sorel. By J. P. Mayer. London: Faber and Faber. 1943. 8s. 6d. net.

THE author of this book edited in 1939 a useful work called *Political Thought: The European Tradition*, which in a little over four hundred pages covered the whole of European political theory from Socrates to Léon Blum. In that work one of the best chapters was that on "Society and Political Thought in France" by E. Kohn-Bramstedt. The present book does little more than give a longer version of that brief essay. Perhaps its principal novelty is the more extensive use made of quotations, so that the reader can follow changes in ideas with the texts themselves before him. Unfortunately, the translations offered are in general exceedingly poor. Mr. Mayer is evidently not very much at home in English; he uses the word *evangile* more than once as if he were under the impression that it is an English word, attributes to Sorel the phrase "the Jacobins were a resolved minority," and writes all through in such a way that it is often necessary to attempt a re-translation into French in order to recover his meaning.

Nevertheless his little book will be of considerable use to the attentive student. This is partly due to the intrinsic interest of his subject and partly to the fact that Mr. Mayer's own approach to it is both serious and methodical. He really knows his material, sets it forth in a rational and ordered fashion, and constantly makes the impression of having great stores of further knowledge in reserve. As compared with the book mentioned at the beginning of this review, he covers too a considerable amount of extra ground, and his fuller treatment of such theorists as Royer-Collard, Pecqueur, Prévost-Paradol, Guesde, Jaurès, and Maurras is very welcome. His own conclusions, perhaps in part owing to the language-difficulty, are not very illuminating, and his last chapter can barely be said to escape the platitudinous. One finds it difficult to appreciate the importance he attaches to the utterances of Raoul

Dautry, for instance ; they read more like the perorations of an official orator than the formulations of new ideas which he apparently takes them for.

Indeed the book as a whole makes the inescapable impression that one of the main causes of France's suffering has been too much eloquence. This book is devoted to the movement of ideas set going by the Revolution, which itself was launched upon a sea of oratory. Renan criticised the Germans for their lack of oratory, but facility in phrase-making has been the opium of modern France. All sorts of confused ideas, full of danger if they ever came near being applied, were made palatable by its means to various classes down through the nineteenth century, while the real weakness of France was disguised under elaborate structures of flashing phrase. Even the cult of simplicity itself became a rhetorical device, as in the case of Péguy, who is always highly praised as he is in this book, but whose real message, whether in the political or in the religious sphere, it is very hard for the ordinary plain foreigner to discover. Something similar is the case with Jaurès, who made such fine speeches about universal peace when the great war was rapidly approaching ; and was not the golden eloquence of Briand symbolic of the false dawn of the inter-war period ?

To say this is by no means to deny the immense importance of nineteenth-century French contributions to political thought. De Tocqueville, for example, on whom Mr. Mayer has written a separate monograph, was one of the most profound and prophetic thinkers of all time, and nearly every modern European movement has had its roots in France : Marxism, for all its founder's scorn, in Saint-Simon and Proudhon, racialism in Gobineau and Barrès, and Fascism in Sorel. What is necessary, however, is rather more discrimination and a more critical attitude than one finds in this book. Its main thesis is that since the Revolution all French political thought has been a variation on the theme of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, with the all-important religious struggle in the background ; but it hardly makes sufficiently clear the contradictions involved in the revolutionary formula, nor does it sufficiently emphasise the destructive effect on all efforts to improve the social system of the weakening of religion by the eighteenth-century " enlightenment."

M. T.

Sociology and Economics

THE MEDIEVAL GILD SYSTEM. By Rev. George Clune, D.Ph., P.P. Dublin : Browne and Nolan. 1943. 7s. 6d. net.

Father Clune has written a scholarly and well-documented account of the medieval gilds. He does not attempt to write their history, but describes the different types of gild and insists on the ideals that inspired their activity. They grew up in the high Middle Ages ; and the course of their prosperity and eventual decline was the same. They were, in the first place, an expression of the thought of those generations in which the brotherhood of man was recognised in a more immediate manner, and for loftier reasons, than has been the case in later centuries. They were, also, the natural outcome of the contemporary organisation, in which the city was more strictly a market than has been the case in modern times. They were all, as Father Clune emphasizes, essentially religious bodies in the sense that they were all dedicated to the practice and profession of the Faith and, in a secondary sense, that their economic activity was designed to harmonise with social principles.

Some gilds were established for specifically religious purposes—the saying of Masses for the repose of the souls of deceased members or in honour of certain feasts. They also discharged functions that have since fallen to the State : the maintenance of schools, the provision of teachers, and the aid of the sick and poor. Others had work of a more purely economic character. The Merchant Gild was responsible for the organisation and supervision of the trade of the city, in return

for which work it received a virtual monopoly of the markets. This monopoly was jealously exercised ; and Father Clune gives many instances of the detail with which it was administered. The gild supervised the market and enjoyed, for all practical purposes, the sole right of selling in it and also the right to fix the price.

The monopoly and regulation of trade, as the author makes clear, had two purposes. " . . . first, to secure for the Gild brethren a fair price for their goods ; and, second, to protect the public against the greed and fraud of the unscrupulous dealer." Such regulations were of value in days when trade dealt so much with necessities and so comparatively little in luxuries. Granted that the gilds were inspired by the ideals of charity and brotherhood that they professed, it is clear that they were in a position to do a great amount of good to the community. It is equally clear that, once those ideals were weakened or lost, no system could be more easily abused.

Father Clune examines several of the reasons adduced for the decline of the system : the growth of large-scale production, the introduction of machinery, the expansion of markets, the breakdown of the gild organisation, the accumulation of excessive wealth by its members. It will be noticed that all of these reasons, except the last two, spring from developments outside the control of the gilds. If the matter is viewed from a purely economic standpoint, it is clear that the gilds were well fitted to discharge the functions that they undertook in the Middle Ages but that, after the fifteenth century, they were unable to adapt themselves to conditions that changed profoundly and rapidly. Monopoly of markets and control of price were both feasible and advantageous so long as markets were small and there was little subdivision of labour. Control of price, for instance, was comparatively easy if the purchaser bought directly from the maker of the article. Once trade began to expand, once the market for a commodity was not confined to a single city, once (above all) there was any subdivision of labour, the function of control was impossible to discharge. The system worked excellently to apportion fairly a stock of goods. When increasing production turned the stock into a flow, the position was altogether altered ; and the gild system, moribund for long before, was unable to adapt itself.

These economic influences were powerful ; but there were other, and deeper, weaknesses in the Gilds. Father Clune places his finger on the true cause of the decline when he attributes it not to economic factors but to the flagging of the spirit that inspired the system in its better days. Once that guiding spirit was weakened and ideals disappeared, the gilds lent themselves admirably to corruption. Their abolition in France was welcomed because they had for decades been regarded as a device for maintaining antiquated privileges. There is no mention in this book of Dr. O'Sullivan's economic history of Cork City in which the reader will find many examples of the means by which the gilds were used to support the Protestant Ascendancy. Their abolition was by no means so unmixed an evil as Father Clune seems to suggest.

This century has seen a revival of interest in the gild system ; and there have been a number of attempts, in the last twenty years, to put vocational organisation into practice. None of them, it must be confessed, are particularly encouraging. Dollfuss Austria, Fascist Italy, Vichy France do not excite our admiration ; and it is worth noting that the former two apparently enjoyed so little popular support that they disappeared without a shot being fired in their defence. Apart from that point, which is not without importance, they were demonstrably inefficient. Portugal remains as a possible exception ; but we have had no impartial examination of the New State and no appraisement of the lessons it may have for other countries.

In this country we still await the report of the Vocational Commission. It is to be hoped that it has studied the increasing trend towards a new industrial organisation in Great Britain. Many supporters of this development, it must be said at once, are

highly suspect. The "Birmingham School" (which, since its exaltation in the General Election of 1931, has brought far more woe into the world than the Manchester School did in a century) has pressed for the integration of industry and, in recent years, has coined the slogan of "Self-Government for Industry." The difficulty of such self-government in modern times is simply stated. It does not lie in the mechanics of vocational organisation. It lies in the impossibility of safeguarding the public against the inevitable tendency to abuse monopoly. In corporative Austria and Italy the State, being a dictatorship, reserved the supervision of the vocational groups to itself. By doing so, it destroyed the essential liberty of association; as *Quadragesimo Anno* pointed out in regard to Italy. It is difficult not to feel that many British industrialists who speak of each occupation being organised are not so much in favour of the gild system as of its perversion. In most cases, if we are to judge by the declarations of the Iron and Steel Industries or of the Federation of British Manufacturers, self-government for industry and occupational organisation mean simply the right to mulct the rest of the community with the minimum of fuss. It is not without justice that many English writers insist that the only principle by which vocational organisation can be justified in modern times is that the welfare of the community is its primary aim. Father Clune will recognise this principle as being that of the medieval gilds; he is entitled to claim that in their eyes it had a higher inspiration. J. F. M.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. By J. R. Bellerby. London: Macmillan. 1943. 21s.

Mr. Bellerby, who is engaged on a study of post-war economic problems, deals in this volume with national and regional planning. A second volume, which one hopes will not be long delayed, will be devoted to international planning. The present work contains a remarkably detailed plan for the reorganisation of British industry. The author puts his cards on the table at once and defines the principles that should, in his opinion, guide economic policy. He claims that in future the aim of every democracy must be to provide 100 per cent. employment. He feels that this degree of employment can be secured if the community is willing to pay for it; and this book is an attempt, and a very painstaking attempt, to map out the policy that, under conditions of private enterprise or (preferably) full state-ownership, may be trusted to achieve it. "Employment," he says, "in general, is largely a question of expenditure. Full employment calls for adequate expenditure, directed and planned so that workers are absorbed from any trade where there is a labour surplus, and employed in supplying the unsatisfied wants of the people, these wants being carefully ascertained in advance. The main difficulty lies, not in evolving a plan of employment, but in securing assent to the large volume of expenditure entailed in financing it."

Expenditure alone, however, will not do the job. Mr. Bellerby foresees the difficulty that it would mean only a rise in the level of prices; he suggests therefore that price-controls should be continued after the war and extended, voluntarily if possible, to peace-time industries. A permanent price-fixing Board, which is also to be the final authority on wage-fixing, is to be set up for this purpose. The stability of prices thus assured, the State is to use every means in its power to issue money and to direct it towards the purchase of consumption goods by the public. This may present no problem immediately after the war. The amount of consumption goods will be small; and payments for replacement of property damaged by enemy action and demobilisation gratuities will provide ample purchasing power during the period of replacement. It is suggested that the State should step in when this process of restocking is nearing its end. It must inject continuously purchasing power into the market. This is to be done chiefly by borrowing from the banks and using the money thus raised for financing expenditure, which will lead to greater

consumption. Taxation is to be directed towards the transfer of income from savers to spenders. A Capital Tax is to be introduced for the same purpose. Generally speaking, the public is to be coaxed or coerced by every means to save less and spend more. Some saving for the replacement of capital goods must be allowed and will be controlled and guided by a Board of Investment.

The economic issues involved are clear enough; the political issues are equally serious. In order to succeed a national plan must remain in operation for a longer period than the lifetime of a Parliament or a Government. Continuity of economic policy, when changes are to be made on the scale contemplated, is essential. Reasonably enough, Mr. Bellerby feels that such unanimity is unlikely. "At every General Election," he says, "the votes of the people must be won for further immense expenditure. At every change in Government the new Administration must accept and understand the plan of the rejected Government." As this seems too much to expect from politicians, it is suggested that the defence of the Plan should be entrusted to an Industrial and Economic Parliament which is to be drawn from all spheres of industry and the professions and is to contain representatives of workers and employers in equal numbers. (A belated compliment to Fascist Italy; the Tiber flows into the Clyde). This body, which is to remain subject to the supremacy of Westminster), is to put forward suggestions affecting the plan and is to recommend fresh extensions of it. It is to have a permanent Secretary-General, who will also be the National Planning Commissioner. To this body, too, will be entrusted the final control over prices and wages.

All this, Dr. Bellerby claims, is possible in a State politically and economically organised as the United Kingdom is to-day. He does not conceal his feeling that the most desirable solution is for the State to expropriate all property holders. "I started," he says, "the enquiry in the full expectation that Private Enterprise could be made to work. I end with the sense that I should be sinning against the light if I cast a vote in its favour. Such reasoning as can be found to support this view has been already indicated, but the salient thought is this: State-ownership lends itself to order. Private Enterprise is by nature *un*ordered, and it requires an immense effort of central co-ordination to overcome its intrinsic tendency to lack of order." One had thought that the insistence on the necessity of order lay on the other side of the battle-line.

Expropriation, it is suggested, may be effected by a system of graduated nationalisation. It would begin with the nationalisation of insurance—to be followed by a series of national levies by which the National Debt would be eliminated. The first stage would be complete with the purchase of public utilities, the land, railway transport, coalmining interests, banking and insurance. A suggested list of priorities for subsequent nationalisation is added. It is not suggested that this immense increase of State-control would aid the increase of efficiency; it is needed in order to simplify planning. "The purpose of the spread of state-control is not *primarily* to increase technical efficiency in the zone of control. The essential aim is to gain simplicity in planning." The rentiers are to have their rights safeguarded by a Personal Incomes Commission which will grant them an allowance of as much as they used to spend. As the State is to provide social insurance, they will not be allowed to save.

These are the essentials of this immense blue-print of an economic prison. It should be added that the scheme has been worked out in detail for the major industries of Great Britain. Having posed certain postulates, the author has pressed his logic all the way.

He insists on the necessity of a complete change of outlook. "Successive Chancellors must learn to exult in vast outlay. Every day, every section of employers, every group of merchants and every retailer must renew loyalty to price agreements.

Every week, every employee throughout the country must accept a wage determined by a procedure against which he agrees not to strike. Every day, both employers and workers must be prepared to see the State break into private territory and ignore lines of demarcation in the interests of less fortunate workers." It is clear that the first article of the Treaty of Peace with Italy is to be that *Signori* Mussolini and Bottai shall place their services and experience at the disposal of Great Britain.

There are more than psychological difficulties. No Industrial Parliament could live a minute beside a sovereign Parliament that is elected on political issues. Whatever Marx may have said, and he has some odd disciples to-day, economics are subject to politics. Putting things the other way round seems like a hang-over from the Brummagen 'thirties. It may be agreed at once that many services could be nationalised ; and it is fair to remember that Mr. Bellerby comes from a part of Scotland that has suffered severely from the lack of national policy. But we will certainly have learnt nothing from the events of the last decade if we do not know that the entrance of the State into economics on the scale contemplated in this book means not only the end of economic liberty but the ruin of political liberty also. Mr. Bellerby's blue-print calls for a supremely wise and ceaselessly sympathetic Civil Service. To these qualities it must join a gift of prophecy and the unfailing confidence of a docile public. Granted those never-to-be-fulfilled conditions, the State envisaged in this volume may be very pleasant for those who like that kind of State—the totalitarian State. But for what are England and America fighting?

J. F. M.

IRELAND. CENSUS OF POPULATION 1936. Volume IX. General Report. Dublin : Stationery Office. 1942. 3s. 6d.

It is impossible to do justice to the statistical wealth of this volume within the limits of a short review. So complete a survey of Irish society cannot be summarily treated. A reviewer can only note the points that make the greatest impression.

In the first place, the changes in the population figures call for attention. In 1936, indeed, the number of people living in Ireland showed little change from ten years before ; but there was a minor revolution in their way of living. Ireland, it seems, is rapidly ceasing to be an agricultural country. The numbers engaged in agriculture fell by 37 thousand ; the numbers engaged in industry increased by 41 thousand. This shift in population was accompanied by a flow from the countryside to the town. The latter increased by 99 thousand ; the former decreased by 96 thousand. It is to be noted that farms of under 30 acres showed the greatest fall, a fact that is not without its bearing on the policy of resettlement. In these years, also, the numbers engaged in ' professions ' increased by no less than 5 thousand ; a development that can hardly be said to reflect an equivalent increase in the demand for their services.

The decrease in emigration in the years immediately following 1926 is reflected in the great fall in the number of persons of Irish birth living overseas. In 1936 there were fewer persons of Irish birth living in the United States, Canada or Australia than at any time since statistics were first obtained for these countries. The figures for Great Britain remained steady and, of course, must have shown an enormous increase since this Census was taken. However long this increase continues, whatever its good and evil effects, the stream of Irish migration has changed its course.

The figures that bear on the natural increase of the population are still more disquietening. Not merely has the percentage of men and women unmarried increased over the already abnormal figures of 1926 ; there is also clear evidence of a decline in the fertility of marriage. These two tendencies will increase the

already disproportionate number of elderly people in the population. It seems that the Irish people are growing older ; and the social structure is being modified accordingly. The occupational statistics show that there was, in 1936, a high percentage of persons under 21 who were not gainfully employed and an equally high percentage of people over 65 who were. The one is not, unfortunately, the result of the other. Those under 21 who are unemployed are to be found in the cities ; those still working after 65 are to be found in the country. It is curious that increased industrial employment has not absorbed youthful labour. For the other point, there may be a case to be made for encouraging farmers, by means of earlier pensions, to retire earlier and to make way for a new generation. Such a step might also lead to a reversal of the increasing trend towards celibacy which, together with the decline in fertility, is the most important, and the most ominous, fact disclosed in this Census. J. F. M.

MUINTIR NA TIRE. Authorised Rural Week Record 1942. Published by Muintir na Tire, National Headquarters, Tipperary. 1s. 6d.

MUINTIR NA TIRE. Official Handbook 1943. 1s. 6d.

OUR daily life has become, especially in the last few years, so regulated and directed from above that the rise of Muintir na Tire seems almost anachronistic. These two handbooks testify admirably to its growth and go far to explain why that growth has been so rapid. The first booklet contains the text of the lectures given at the Rural Week held in Mungret in August 1942. This Week was the third of its kind ; and it is easy to accept the claim that, in spite of transport difficulties, it was the most successful to date. The lectures touched agricultural life at so many points that those who attended must have felt that they had got full value for their money.

If one suggestion may be made, it is that, so soon as paper supplies permit, a summary of the discussions on the lectures should be added. Its inclusion in future handbooks would, of course, seriously increase the cost of publication and add materially to the troubles of an already over-burdened Organising Secretary ; but it would be well worth while. Even the best lecture must remain on the high levels of general principles ; it is only in discussion that the smaller, and often vital, distinctions and qualifications can be made. What suits one district will not suit another. The State may have a given policy about, say, wheat-growing or pig-rearing. The application of that policy should vary greatly between Wexford and Westmeath, Cavan and Limerick. This example may serve to illustrate the many difficulties that may arise when a general policy is applied to a number of areas that differ greatly in their agricultural tradition. It is only by microscopic examination of agricultural policies and problems in relation to a parish or small district that one can see the small, and often avoidable, deficiencies of large-scale policy. In this field Muintir na Tire can do most valuable work ; and it would be most valuable if, in addition to these lectures, we had a report of the discussions in which the speakers apply the general principles of the lecturer to the circumstances of their own districts. When so much is given in this Record, it may seem ungracious to ask for more ; but this suggestion seems to be the only one that can be made for the improvement of the Record.

The papers cover too wide a field to be examined in any detail. There are, in the first place, the more general lectures of Fathers Hayes, Coyne and McKevitt which set out the necessity of rural organisation and its possible extension. In the second place, there are a number of papers dealing with the functions that rural bodies might hope to discharge. There is, for example, an excellent paper by Mr. P. J. Meghen, the County Manager of Limerick, which might serve as a blue-print for all parish councils. There is also an instructive paper by Mr. Murphy

of University College, Cork, who is already well-known for his work on the costs of dairy farming, dealing with rural planning. He divides the possible field of local action into three parts—a land survey, agricultural education and (a problem still unsolved after so many years !) agricultural credit. Other speakers, it seems, are still more ambitious and urge that central government is too unwieldy and expensive an instrument for local problems and that some of its administrative powers should be delegated to parish councils.

Some of these projects may soon be accomplished ; others may prove impossible to realise. But the fact that their possibility is discussed shows that Muintir na Tire has succeeded in its primary task of inducing the agricultural community to take an interest in its problems and to take a hand in their solution. It is this reassertion of local initiative, after so much dependence on above, that gives these proceedings their greatest promise.

This leaves very little space to deal with the Handbook for 1943, which contains a number of interesting articles. Mention must be made of Professor Lyons's article on the estimated savings of the farmers. It may be said, in passing, that this whole matter is a great gap in our statistical information. We have ample demographic statistics and an almost embarrassing wealth of information on industrial trends. On the other hand we have no official estimate of the amount of the national income or of the amount of our sterling assets. However, discussions of this point would lead very far away from Muintir na Tire. J. F. M.

The Bible and Anthropology

THE BIBLE AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF MANKIND. By Humphrey J. T. Johnson. London : Burns Oates. 1943. Pp. 70. 4s. 6d.

This little volume should find its way into every Catholic library, especially into the libraries of philosophical and theological schools. Its author is a priest and also a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute ; and his book bears the Imprimatur of the Bishop of Birmingham. Hence its credentials entitle it to respect and careful consideration, whether we accept the views propounded or not. And one thing it effects immediately by appearing at all : it makes clear that a Catholic apologist, *salva fide*, can accept the evolution of the human body from some pre-existing primate and defend it with the formal permission of ecclesiastical authority. This of itself clears the air and refutes the notion that the Church is somehow afraid of scientific discoveries in this field of research. That was really never true. Quite early in the confused strife, which resembled in many ways the older Galileo dispute, Bishop Hedley, in an essay in *The Dublin Review* (1871) entitled " Evolution and Faith ", put the *status quaestionis* perfectly. The opening paragraph runs : " We are not disposed to attach too much importance to Mr. Darwin's speculations, considered from the point of view of faith. It has been too hastily assumed that the evolutionary theory is a smashing assault on orthodoxy that is carrying terror and confusion to the ranks of all believers in Revelation. It is nothing of the kind."

It was never anything of the kind for any competent metaphysician and theologian. For one thing the theory itself could not possibly be made as certain and evident as the principle of causality ; and this principle rules out rigorously every form of evolutionism which excludes a special divine intervention in the appearance of man on earth. No balanced mind accepts or can accept as proven, or possible of proof, a proposition which retroactively destroys the basis of all certitude and paralyses the functioning of the mind. Hence " terror and confusion " could not invade the ranks of men trained in a sound philosophy. And it is entirely significant that the Fathers at the Vatican Council, sitting when the great hubbub was at its

height, ignored it utterly and drew up, in lapidary form, a series of definitions which embodied a mixture of philosophy and theology so clear, authoritative and cogent that today it emerges from the intellectual chaos of our times like a lighthouse showing suddenly to shipwrecked sailors adrift on a midnight sea.

Fr. Johnson thinks, however, that there is still in Catholic circles a prejudice, arising from an insufficient knowledge of the findings of science, against the evolutionary theory. He speaks of " the hesitation of theologians in accepting positions taken as axiomatic in the world of science." He hints that, through fear of causing *scandalum pusillorum*, they forget the *scandalum eruditorum* which they may give. He states that " the manuals of scripture and dogmatics used in seminaries are often of a kind hardly calculated to equip students for the priesthood with an adequate appreciation of these problems."

This is scarcely fair. Professors of scripture or dogmatics cannot, in the nature of things, treat anthropological problems (or other scientific problems) except incidentally ; and they must obviously rely upon the scientists for their data. They must be told by them, with precision and authority, just what science has definitely established as its final verdict. They cannot set up as arbitrators in scientific controversies. They must await the ultimate decision, keeping meantime to their own task of defending reason and revelation from attacks made in the name of science.

To take the precise issue Fr. Johnson raises. For him it seems axiomatic that man's body, physically considered, is the result of evolution. There is no difficulty in accepting this if it is really demonstrated. But I have never seen the conclusion made even solidly probable. And, with all due respects, our author himself rather assumes his position than proves it.

What in this matter really divides the scientists from the theologians is a question of logic rather than of science—namely what constitutes proof of the proposition that the Creator took some preexisting animal body or two such bodies and " breathed " a spiritual soul into them—thus creating Adam and Eve? There is nothing inherently impossible in this supposition. It is, in some ways, even an attractive hypothesis ; and it may one day be accepted by all anthropologists as definitely proven. But until that day comes, theologians may be pardoned for abstaining from giving it a certitude which many first-rate anthropologists deny to it.

Many " scientists," who admittedly work by the inductive method, have a very hazy notion of what is needed for a complete induction. Thus, in the present case recent research has undoubtedly increased the number of important " finds " tending to shed light upon prehistoric man. Yet it seems to the outsider, the " idiotes " (which describes most of us), that the sum total of observations made and facts established hardly justifies the confident deductions made from scattered bones and fragments found in such a variety of times, places, circumstances and the like. The " scientists " may have what Newman calls an " illative sense " peculiar to themselves. Even granting that, we cannot be guided by their conclusions until these are agreed upon. Then we could struggle to accept them on fiducial faith provided they did not do violence to the principle of causality, which no " science " can abrogate.

But this point has not been reached. I have under my hand, and side by side with Fr. Johnson's little book, Douglas Dewar's *Difficulties of the Evolution Theory* (1931), which argues against his standpoint ; and it seems to me much more convincing, particularly in the fact that he can cite some of the most eminent authorities in anthropology and palaeontology for the negative side. Also Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt's contribution to *European Civilisation* (1934, Vol. i, p. 75), in which, again with the citation of a whole series of authoritative names, he concludes that

anthropology leads us back to the Dawn Man—no connection at all of the Ape Man —and can go no farther.

Both these authors contend that the more recent trend of scientific thought is away from the conclusion styled axiomatic by Fr. Johnson. So I ask him what is the onlooker, who feels helpless himself in the matter, to decide? Fr. Johnson devotes the greater portion of his short work to proving that the evolutionary hypothesis, as he explains it, is quite reconcilable with the Catholic Faith. This is well-done and interesting. But what would be more interesting and more useful would be to demonstrate as an anthropologist that the hypothesis is really true, is accepted by all specialists, and is thus a dogma of science. Until this is done most theologians will say to him and other scientists: *Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.* In the meantime they have the most complete liberty to pursue their inquiries without the slightest fear of anathemas, unless they present us with assertions that we see by reason to be false and impossible or that we know by revelation to be untrue; for they must remember that the metaphysician comes before them all the time. If he does not give them a sound epistemology and a sound logic, they can establish no epistemé or knowledge whatsoever. And the exact translation of epistemé is scientia in Latin or science in English. As for revelation, on Catholic principles it is the Church that received it and has handed it on. It is the Church that interprets it. She has nowhere defined anything incompatible with theistic evolutionism.

Fr. Johnson's exposition is a little confusing, his arguments are hard to follow, and his most important statements lack precision. Thus on p. 19 he writes: "There can be no doubt that increased knowledge of the Pithecoanthropus-Sinanthropus stock has strengthened the original view of Darwin and his disciples which makes the anthropomorphous apes the animals most closely allied to man, and there seems at present every probability that this view will one day be unquestioned in the scientific world." Now, the fault may be mine; but I cannot in the least see the exact force of the first part. I simply do not know whether it *asserts* the descent of man from some "primate" or not. I imagine it implies that somehow—but more I cannot tell. And the second part of the sentence admits all I have been contending for—namely, that the unanimity of scientists is still a matter of prophecy, a probability which the future may (or may not) turn into a certainty.

On p. 20 we find the following: "Such opposition as now remains to the inclusion of man, so far as he is an animal, within the scope of evolution, is based almost wholly upon religious grounds, its adherents being drawn either from Protestants of the "fundamentalist" school or from that still large (though apparently decreasing) number of Catholics whose views do not appear to differ appreciably from it." These words "just hint a fault and hesitate dislike." But do they *prove* anything except the complete subjective assurance of the writer in the truth of the prophecy in the preceding extract? Fr. Johnson nowhere marshals arguments for his thesis; does not even make it quite plain; does not hint at the existence of scientific opponents and meets none of their objections. His book, therefore, has this value: it is a profession of faith in evolution by one who is no doubt an anthropological expert and also an orthodox Catholic priest. But it leaves the critical inquirer as much at a loss as ever on the crucial question: Is it an established and generally accepted dogma of science that the human body did in sober fact evolve from some preexisting animal form, to whatever family it may have belonged? Fr. Johnson admits that between the oldest man spoken of by anthropology and his supposititious ancestor there is an unbridged gap, but *hopes* that further research will bridge the gap. But hopes may be cheats as fears may be liars. The prudent investigator will seek to avoid the disturbing influence of both.

P. J. GANNON

Miscellaneous

THE PARABLES OF OUR LORD. By Marie-Joseph Ollivier, O.P. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1943. 10s. 6d.

OUR GREATEST TREASURE. By John Kearney, C.S.Sp. London: Burns Oates. 1942. Pp. XLIV + 184.

KNOTS AND CROSSES. By Aloysius Roche. Browne & Nolan. 1943. 6s.

THE FIRST MONKS AND NUNS. By Aloysius Roche. Burns Oates. 1942. 7s. 6d.

The authors of these various books need no introduction. They are already well known to a wide circle of readers by other works. The fact that so shrewd a firm of publishers as Messrs. Browne & Nolan have seen fit, despite Father Ollivier's death many years ago, to bring out a new edition of Miss Leahy's translation of his original work in French is itself sufficient testimony to the value of these essays on the parables. Having introduced the work by a short discourse on the parables in general, Fr. Ollivier treats in succession eighteen of the parables of Our Blessed Lord. Taking each one in turn, he endeavours to place it in its proper setting and, by careful analysis, to draw out from it the lessons it was intended to convey. The task is not an easy one; but so happily are scholarship and simplicity blended in these pages that our attention is completely deflected from its difficulty and a deep insight into the setting of the parables and their meaning is unostentatiously disclosed to us.

Our Greatest Treasure, while again the work of an author now gone from the midst of men, is rather different in character. It is in fact a compilation from notes found amongst his papers after Fr. Kearney's death. It is not therefore as full, we may well imagine, as its author would have made it had he prepared it personally for the press. For all that it provides us with an interesting and quite unstudied testimony to the character of the man who made these notes. The book contains a considerable sketch of Fr. Kearney from the pen of Rev. Dr. Leen, and there is no doubt that the pages which follow this appreciation bear out well the picture of their author as depicted there by Dr. Leen. His singleminded earnestness and forthrightness are very conspicuous in the direct manner in which he deals with the gift of Faith which the Catholic has; with the dangers by which it is beset and the course to be followed if it is to be effectively safeguarded. The book indeed hardly does more than outline the subject to us as it occupied Fr. Kearney's mind, and no one who reads it will fail to be stimulated to further thought and reflection of his own.

Different again from either of the above are Fr. Roche's two books. Their ambit is wider and their interest less specialised. They are, too, written in an altogether lighter strain—too light a strain in some parts to suit all tastes, especially in the case of the book on monastic origins. "Half in jest and all in earnest" might perhaps be the best description of them; for, despite an apparently whimsical mood, Fr. Roche has a very definite point behind all he says. *Knots and Crosses*, for example, reflects with a certain humour and pleasantry the eminently practical musings of a man upon whom the drift of life and the ways of men are in no way lost. More than one who reads it will be stirred, as he goes along, to put himself some searching questions and will perhaps be surprised to find how accurately his own mentality had been reflected in one or other of the essays in this book. *The First Monks and Nuns* tells, in a definitely more popular than scientific style, the story of the origin of monasticism in the Church—a chapter of Egyptian history which, as Fr. Roche remarks, too many scholars 'are apt to ignore.' Despite the fact that the subject is in many ways a difficult one, the interest of the narrative is well maintained throughout, and a very considerable and varied store of information is compressed into a comparatively narrow space. C. O'C.

(The list of books received has been unavoidably held over)

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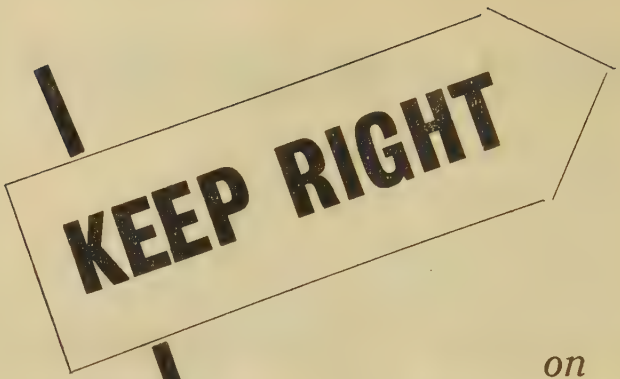

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